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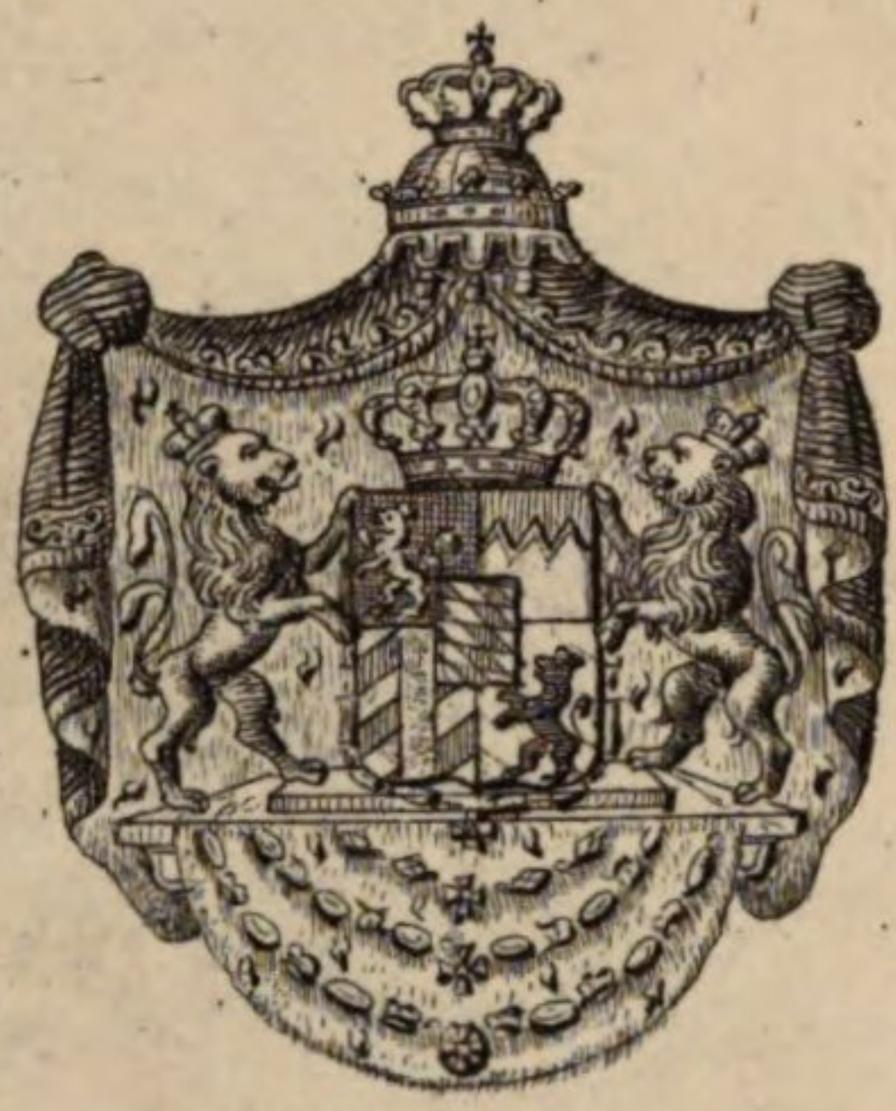

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AN

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS

FROM A

NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON.

[Oliver Goldsmith]

VOL. II.

Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca
Ausi deserere, & celebrare domestica facta. HOR.

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MDCCLXXXVI.

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AN
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LETTER XXXIX.

NEVER did monarch come to the throne of England with a greater variety of favourable concurrences than Charles I. He found himself poſſeſſed of a peaceful and flouriſhing kingdom, his right undiſputed by rival claimants, ſtrengthened by an alliance with one of the moſt powerful monarchs that ever reigned in France, whoſe ſiſter he had married; and, to add to all this, loved by his ſubjects, whom he had won by his virtues and addreſs. *A. D.* 1625.

However, this was but a flattering proſpect: the ſpirit of liberty was rouſed, and it was reſolved to

oppoſe the ancient claims of monarchs, who uſurped their power, in times of ignorance or danger, altho' they had confirmed it by laws, and continued it by long preſcription. Charles had been, from his infancy, taught to conſider the royal privileges as ſacred pledges, which it was his duty to defend: his father had implanted the doctrines of hereditary and indefeaſible right early upon his mind. James only defended theſe doctrines by words, and it was ſoon the fate of Charles to aſſert them by action. It is the duty of every ſovereign to conſider the genius and diſpoſition of his people, as a father does that of his children, and to adapt his government to each conjuncture. Charles miſtook that genius: he wanted to govern a people who had, for ſome time, learncd to be free, by maxims and precedents that had their origin in times of ignorance and ſlavery.

He therefore began his reign with two of the moſt difficult projects that could be conceived: the one to ſuccour the proteſtants in Germany againſt the emperor and duke of Bavaria; the other to keep the royal prerogatives entire, without a national ſtanding army. In order to effect theſe purpoſes, the houſe of commons was to be managed; who, as I have already deſcribed, from being the oppreſſed party, were now willing, in turn, to become oppreſſors; who, from a deteſtation of popery, had now overſhot the mark, and were become puritans. His firſt demand for the neceſſary ſupplies to carry on the war of the Palatinate, in Germany, though undertaken at their own requeſt, was anſwered with a petition for puniſhing papiſts, and for an examination into the grievances of the nation. Buckingham, who had been the late king's favourite, and who was ſtill more careſſed by the preſent monarch, did not eſcape their cenſures; ſo that, inſtead of granting

ing the ſums requiſite, they employed the time in vain diſputations and complaints, till the ſeaſon for proſecuting the intended campaign was elapſed. The king, at length, wearied with their delays, and offended at the contempt of his demands, thought proper to diſſolve a parliament which he could not bring to reaſon. In fact, the commons, at this time, complained of imaginary grievances; but the time was approaching when their complaints were to be real.

The miniſters of the king had not yet forgot that kind of tax which was called a benevolence, and which had been often exacted from the ſubject in former reigns. Charles thought to avail himſelf of this method of procuring money, but at the ſame time coloured it over with a greater appearance of juſtice than any of his predeceſſors. He therefore determined to borrow money of ſuch perſons as were beſt able to lend, to whom, for this purpoſe, he directed letters mentioning the ſum. With this the people reluctantly complied: it was, in fact, a grievance, though authoriſed by a thouſand precedents; but no precedent can give ſanction to injuſtice. With this money a fleet was equipped and ſent againſt Spain, but it returned without procuring either glory or advantage.

This ineffectual expedition demanded to be repaired by a new ſupply greater than what extorted loans could produce, and another parliament was called for this purpoſe. The new parliament, upon this occaſion, ſeemed even more refractory than the former, and appeared more willing to make or to complain of grievances than to grant money; but chiefly their reſentment was directed againſt Buckingham, the royal favourite. Whenever the ſubjects attack the royal prerogative, they begin with the

favourites of the crown; and wiſe princes, ſenſible of this, ſeldom have any. Charles was not poſſeſſed of the art of making a diſtinction between friends and miniſters: whoever was his favourite was always entruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs. He loved Buckingham, and undertook to protect him, altho' to defend this nobleman was to ſhare his reproach. Two members of the houle of commons, Diggs and Elliot, undertook to accuſe him. The purport of the charge amounted to little more than that he had engroſſed too much power for himſelf and his relations, and that he had applied a plaiſter to the late king's ſide which was ſuppoſed to be poiſonous. They enveighed againſt the duke upon this frivilous accuſation, and the king, in a paſſion, ordered them both to the Tower. This was an open act of violence, and ſhould have been ſupported, or never performed. The commons exclaimed, that their privileges were infringed: they proteſted that neither of the members had ſpoken any thing diſreſpectful of his majeſty, and began to publiſh their vindication. The king, who was ever ready to enter upon harſh meaſures, but not to ſupport them, releaſed the two members; and this compliance confirmed that obſtinacy which his former injury had contributed to raiſe. The earl of Arundel, for being guilty of the ſame offence in the houſe of lords, was impriſoned and diſmiſſed in the ſame manner by the king. The two houſes having in this manner anſwered the royal demands for money, the king, rather than give up the duke, choſe to be without the ſupply, and therefore once more diſſolved the parliament.

He had now a war to maintain, which he was engaged in by the advice of thoſe very members who refuſed to contribute to its ſupport; beſides this, he

was to put the kingdom in a proper poſture of defence, and he wanted money to execute theſe purpoſes. To furniſh the proper ſupplies he again had recourſe to loans, and to granting protections to the papiſts, for ſtipulated ſums of money: ſuch as refuſed had ſoldiers billeted upon them, contrary to the cuſtoms of England; and even ſome were enrolled for ſoldiers themſelves. Perſons of birth and rank were ſummoned to appear before the council, and upon their perſiſting in a refuſal, were put into confinement. We now once more perceive the ſeeds of diſcord beginning to ſhoot forth: we now ſee, as in every other civil war, both parties guilty of injuſtice, yet on either ſide that injuſtice ariſing from principles of virtue; the one actuated by the inherent liberties of mankind, the other by the preſcriptive privileges of the crown. Such is the general lot of humanity, to have their actions degenerate from the producing motives.

The king, now finding that nothing but the proſpect of immediate danger could induce ſome future parliament to provide neceſſary ſupplies, was reſolved to make a rupture with France, a war againſt which had ever been an expedient of producing unanimity at home. *A. D.* 1626. With this view he ſent out Buckingham with a fleet to relieve Rochelle, a maritime town in that kingdom, which had long enjoyed its privileges independent of the French king, and which he was now actually preparing to deprive them of. This expedition was equally fruitleſs with that to the coaſts of Spain: the duke knew nothing of the art of war, and conſumed his time in beſieging a little fort in the iſle of Ree, from whence he was driven with the loſs of half his army. The bad ſucceſs of this ſerved to render the unfortunate duke ſtill more

obnoxious, to the king more needy: another parliament, was therefore called, and a ſupply demanded in the uſual form. The commons, in the firſt parliament, had began with fictitious grievances; but their refuſing then to contribute the ſupplies, ſoon introduced an actual abuſe of power, and rendered the king unjuſt, who, probably, only deſired to be eaſy. He extorted ſupplies and impriſoned the refractory. The complaints of the commons were now real: their members had been impriſoned; loans had been extorted; a tax upon merchandize, called tonnage and poundage, had been exacted without parliamentary authority; and, laſt of all, the duke of Buckingham was ſtill ſuffered to rule the councils of the king, and inflame every proceeding. In this ſituation they ſeemed, as uſual, reſolved to grant no money till their grievances were redreſſed, and till the king had given a poſitive aſſurance to maintain the liberty of the ſubject. The king promiſed both, and they voted him a liberal ſupply, upon which they were prorogued, as was cuſtomary. This freſh ſupply enabled his majeſty to make another attempt to relieve Rochelle, and the duke of Buckingham was again appointed to the command. Buckingham had ever behaved with ſome haughtineſs, as being ſure of the king's protection: but his greateſt fault ſeemed to be too large a ſhare of power, which gave offence to every order. It is the aim of all malecontents in a ſtate rather to bring the great down to their own level, than to exalt the inferior order to theirs; and this might be a motive to the lords and commons for attempting to retrench Buckingham's power. The clamour raiſed againſt him in the houſe was not loſt among the people; they re-echoed it from one to the other, and the duke had a million of foes only from his ſeeming proſperity.

ſperity. Among this number was one John Felton, an Iriſhman, a lieutenant in the army. This man was naturally melancholy, courageous, and enthuſiaſtic: he felt for his country, as if labouring under a calamity which he thought it in the power of his ſingle arm to remove: he reſolved to kill the duke, and thus to do ſervice both to God and man. Animated with miſtaken patriotiſm and gloomy zeal, he reached Portſmouth, where the duke was then ſurrounded with his levee, giving the neceſſary orders to embark. Felton came up among the crowd, and ſtabbed him with a long knife to the heart: the duke inſtantly fell dead, and Felton walked compoſedly away; but his hat had fallen off while he was ſtriking the blow, and this produced the diſcovery. He diſdained denying a murder in which he gloried, and averred that he looked upon the duke as an enemy to his country, and, as ſuch, deſerved to ſuffer. We ſhall ſee through the courſe of this reign ſeveral inſtances of great virtues and enormous vices; for the genius of England was at this time arrived at its higheſt pitch. *A. D.* 1628.

The expedition to Rochelle again returned without ſucceſs, as if it had been ordered by fate that nothing was to put the people in good humour. The conteſt, therefore, between privilege and prerogative was now carried on with the ſame acrimony as before. Tonnage and poundage was exacted by the king as a right belonging to the crown, and refuſed by the merchants as a tax that could only be granted by the people. The parliament was called to determine the diſpute; but inſtead of diſcuſſing that argument, they entered upon diſputes about religion. The houſe was moſtly compoſed of puritans, and ſuch were for aboliſhing epiſcopacy, and perſecuting

papiſts. They were freed from Buckingham; but there was another favourite whom they dreaded ſtill more, Laud archbiſhop of Canterbury, a great favourer of the opinion of *divine right*, and firmly attached to the rites of the church as then eſtabliſhed. They ſeemed willing to allow the king no favourite, and therefore loudly murmured againſt this biſhop. Their indignation, however, was, for a while, called off to another object, which was conſidered as a new act of violence in the king. His cuſtom-houſe officers had ſeiſed upon the goods of one or two merchants who refuſed to pay tonnage and poundage. The judges, in the former reign of James I. had adjudged this tax to belong to the crown without conſent of parliament; the former reign, therefore, had been the proper time for diſputing the king's right; but the commons had then not ſo much power, or ſuch a ſpirit of reſiſtance as now: they were now perfectly ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and were reſolved to fix the limits between the king and the people. They therefore boldly and warmly remonſtrated againſt the king's proceeding; and he, in return, impriſoned four of the members, and diſſolved the parliament. Theſe were the cauſes which ſoon after overturned the ſtate, and laid the throne in blood.

LETTER XL.

A Monarchical government has ever been looked upon as beſt, when wiſely adminiſtered. We are ſo conſtituted by nature, that ſome are born to command, and others to obey. In a republic, how free ſoever, the people cannot govern themſelves, and the leaders muſt be tyrants over their own

own narrow circle of ſubjects. In a monarchy the governor is placed at a diſtance from the many, as he is but one; in a republic the tyrants are near, becauſe they are many: in the former the people are ſubject to oppreſſion from errors of will; in the latter, they are haraſſed by the rigours of the law. In a monarchy the redreſs of grievances is ſpeedy; in a republic, dilatory and uncertain: in the one, puniſhments are few; in the other, ſevere and numerous, from the debility of the conſtitution.

The preſent parliament ſeemed not ſo intent upon abridging the king's power, as upon entirely aboliſhing it: they were Calviniſts, and it is the ſpirit of Calviniſm to throw off the reſtraints of royalty. The Engliſh had lately ſeen this happily effected in Switzerland and Holland, and, influenced by ſuch examples, ſeemed deſirous of imitation.

You have ſeen the king and the Engliſh parliament now almoſt prepared for an open rupture; ſtill, however, the commons kept within the bounds of humble remonſtrance, and, while they refuſed his majeſty's demands, aſked pardon for their delay. They had ſtill a reſpect for their monarch, which even their republican principles could not entirely efface; and, though they were willing to wound, yet they feared to ſtrike an open blow. The Scotch ſoon ſet them an example of reſiſtance: they had, in that kingdom, long embraced the Calviniſtical doctrines; and, tho' they ſtill had biſhops, theſe were reduced to poverty, and treated with contempt. James I. attempted to exalt the biſhops, and to introduce the rites and the liturgy of the church of England among them, but died in the midſt of his endeavours. Charles, therefore, was reſolved to complete what his father had begun. This unneceſſary and ill-judged attempt alienated the affec-

tions of the Scotch ſubjects. The ſedition paſſed from city to city; the Calviniſts formed a league, as if all the laws, divine and human, were infringed; while the deſire, in the court party, of ſupporting their commands, and, in the people, of defending their religion, ſoon excited, actually, in Scotland, thoſe dangers which in England were, as yet only apprehended.

In ſuch a ſituation the king could only repreſs the preſumption of his Scotch ſubjects by the aſſiſtance of thoſe of England: but he had lately diſſolved his parliament, and ſeemed no way diſpoſed to call another; he had cut off the ſources of every ſupply in caſes of emergency, and fondly hoped he could govern merely by the terror of royalty. His favourites helped to confirm his errors; they were fond of arbitrary power, becauſe they ſhared its indulgencies; the privy-council conſidered itſelf as abſolute; the ſtar-chamber, as it was called, ſeverely puniſhed all who denied the prerogative royal; the high commiſſion court now turned from defending the papiſts againſt the puritans, whom they juſtly feared, as tinctured with the ſpirit of reſiſtance; the very judges alſo, being choſen by the court, were entirely devoted to the king: ſo that all conſpired to lift him above juſtice, and induced him to call thoſe parliaments no more, whoſe maxims of government he found diametrically oppoſite to his own. He was therefore reſolved to fix upon other methods of raiſing money; methods, indeed, which were practiſed by his predeceſſors, but at times when they had power to controul even juſtice, and force to compel their ſubjects to obey. Charles, in the midſt of a civil war in Scotland, and the diſcontents of his people at home, at a time when one half of his ſubjects were preaching ſedition, and the other half

were

were learning to diſpiſe kings; without army, and without treaſures; reſolved to reign with arbitrary power.

With the taxes which he levied without parliaments in England, he undertook to bring about the reformation in Scotland; and therefore began, as his parliament was now no more, to collect a tax upon the ſubject called *Ship-money*. This is that famous tax which firſt rouſed a whole nation, after an unſettled conſtitution of more than a thouſand years, at length to fix and determine the bounds of their own freedom and the king's prerogative.

To give a ſanction to the royal orders, this tax was backed by the opinion of all the judges, who voted it to be cuſtomary and legal. Their opinion will, at once, ſerve to explain the nature of this tax, and what they judged concerning it. It runs thus: *We every man by himſelf, and all of us together, have taken into ſerious conſideration the caſe and queſtion concerning ſhip-money; and it is our opinion, that when the good and ſafety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the kingdom in danger, that your majeſty may, by writ under the great ſeal of England, command all your ſubjects of this your kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furniſh ſuch number of ſhips, with men, victuals, and ammunition, and for ſuch time, as your majeſty ſhall think fit for the defence and ſafety of this kingdom from ſuch danger and peril; and that, by law, your majeſty may compel the doing thereof, in caſe of refuſal or refractorineſs: and we are alſo of opinion, that in ſuch caſe your majeſty is the ſole judge both of the danger, and when and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided, &c.*

An order from the throne thus backed by the opinion of all the judges, it was thought, would be at once complied with; but the king was deceived.

A pri-

A private man of courage and integrity, one John Hampden, ſtood forth as a champion for the people, and refuſed to pay a tax not authoriſed by parliament. The ſum at which he was rated amounted to but twenty ſhillings, yet he refuſed to contribute even this, and brought his cauſe before the court of Exchequer. Never was a greater cauſe argued in any court before. The judges, by their ſentence, were to determine whether the nation, and their poſterity, were to be ſubject to arbitrary power, or to enjoy freedom. The judges determined in favour of ſervitude; Hampden was caſt; and this only ſerved to increaſe the diſcontents of the people.

The diſcontent and oppoſition the king found among his Engliſh ſubjects, one would have thought, might ſerve to repreſs his ardour for reformation in the religion of Scotland. Having publiſhed an order for reading the liturgy in the principal church in Edinburgh, the people received it with clamours and imprecations: the court-party blamed their obſtinacy, as the innovations were trifling; but this was retorted againſt themſelves with ſtill greater force for labouring ſo earneſtly at the eſtabliſhment of trifles. The ſedition in that kingdom, which had hitherto been ſecret, was now kept concealed no longer; rebellion had, as it were, ſet up its ſtandard amongſt them. Yet ſtill the king could not reſolve to deſiſt from his deſign; and ſo prepoſſeſſed was he in favour of royal right, that he thought the very name of a king would influence them to return to duty. He was ſoon undeceived; the Scotch Calviniſts, whoſe principles were republican, entered into a covenant to ſuppreſs the biſhops, and reſiſt the king's authority. This was judged an open declaration of war, and

Charles

Charles ſummoned the nobility of England, who held lands of the crown, to furniſh a proper number of forces to ſuppreſs them. To add to his ſupplies, he demanded, a voluntary contribution from the clergy, and, by means of his queen, the catholics alſo were preſſed for their aſſiſtance. By theſe methods he found himſelf at the head of an undiſciplined and reluctant army, amounting to about twenty thouſand men, commanded by generals more willing to negotiate than to fight. However, his ſuperiority of number gave him a manifeſt advantage over the malecontents, who were not ſlow in marching to oppoſe him. Charles had inherited the peaceful diſpoſition of his father: he was unwilling to come to extremities, although a blow then ſtruck with vigour might have prevented many of his ſucceeding misfortunes. Inſtead of fighting, he entered upon a treaty: a ſuſpenſion was concluded upon, and terms agreed to, that neither ſide intended to obſerve. This ſuſpenſion, and diſbanding the armies, was a fatal ſtep to the king: the Scotch forces could be again muſtered at pleaſure; the Engliſh troops, not without time, difficulty, and expence. Of this the malecontents were ſenſible, and the negotiations met with obſtructions, in proportion as they were confident of their power. In ſhort, after much altercation, and many treaties ſigned and broken, both parties once more reſolved upon a war. *A. D.* 1638.

War being reſolved on, the king now took every method to raiſe money for maintaining it. *Ship-money* was levied as before; ſome other arbitrary taxes were exacted with great ſeverity; but one method of increaſing ſupplies reflects immortal honour upon thoſe who granted them. His counſellors and ſervants lent the king whatever ſums they could ſpare, and diſtreſſed

treſſed their private fortunes to ſerve the ſtate. Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the marquis of Hamilton, contributed very large ſums; but particularly Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, gave his majeſty twenty thouſand pounds. Wentworth was one of the great characters that marked thoſe celebrated times. Upon his firſt appearance in the ſtate, he was foremoſt in oppoſition to the crown; but, finding his confederates had mixed a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm with their regards for liberty, he left their ſide to take that of the king, which he fancied in greateſt danger. He was brave, wiſe, and loyal; and followed the king from principle, yet without entirely approving his conduct.

Theſe were the reſources of the crown to prepare for a Scotch war; but they were ſtill inſufficient, and there was but one method more to furniſh larger ſupplies, namely, by calling a parliament.

A. D. 1640. It was now eleven years ſince Charles had called any. The ungovernable ſpirit of the laſt had taught him to hate and to fear ſuch an aſſembly. His wants, however, at length induced him to conſtrain his indignation, and by the advice of his council he called another, the members of which were ſtill more turbulent than the former, as they now had ſtill ſtronger reaſons for their diſcontent. The houſe of commons could not be induced to treat the Scotch, who were of the ſame principles, and contended for the ſame cauſe, as their enemies. They looked upon them as friends and brothers, who only roſe to teach them to defend their privileges. The king could reap no other fruits, therefore, from this aſſembly, but murmurings and complaints; every method he had taken to ſupply himſelf with money was declared an abuſe: tonnage and poundage, ſhip-

money,

money, the ſale of monopolies, the billetting ſoldiers upon the citizens, were all voted ſtretches to arbitrary power. The ſtar-chamber gave particular offence, and, inſtead of ſubſidies, the houſe preſented the king with nothing but grievances. Charles once more diſſolved this parliament, and thus aggravated the diſcontents of the people.

He had now made enemies of the Scotch nation, and of the commons of England; it remained to offend the city of London. Upon their refuſing to lend him a ſum of money to carry on the war, he ſued them in the ſtar-chamber for ſome lands in Ireland, and made them pay a conſiderable fine. He continued to exact all the taxes againſt which the parliament had ſo frequently remonſtrated. Even had he been deſpotic, ſuch a conduct would have ſhook him on the throne; but, limited as he was, it ſerved to complete his overthrow. He could expect little aſſiſtance from England; and the Scotch ſenſible of their own power in that part of his dominions, led an army of twenty thouſand men as far as Newcaſtle upon Tyne, in order to ſeiſe upon, or to dethrone him. Having thus prepared his misfortunes, he found himſelf again obliged to call that parliament which completed his ruin. *Nov.* 3.

Inſtead of granting money, this new parliament, as all the reſt had done, began by demanding to have their grievances redreſſed: they deſired an abolition of the ſtar-chamber, exclaimed againſt arbitrary taxes, and particularly ſhip-money; and, in fine, demanded that a new parliament ſhould be called every three years. Charles was now obliged to grant thoſe demands from neceſſity, which in the beginning of his reign he might have beſtowed as a favour. He expected to regain his authority by complying, but he was deceived; nothing could ſa-

tisfy

tisfy the commons but the total abolition of his power. He expected that his Engliſh ſubjects would repreſs the inſolence of thoſe of Scotland, but had the mortification to find the houſe of commons approve their conduct, and repay their irruption with a reward of three hundred thouſand pounds. He hoped to repreſs the puritanical party in England, but found, to his ſurpriſe, almoſt the whole houſe of commons of that perſuaſion. He loved the earl of Strafford with tenderneſs, and eſteemed his wiſdom; and the houſe of commons conſcious of his regards accuſed the earl of high-treaſon. When we attempt innovation, we ſeldom know how far our ſchemes will extend at laſt. This parliament began with redreſſing grievances; they proceeded to reform the ſtate, and ended in totally deſtroying the conſtitution.

LETTER XLI.

IN treating of a ſubject in which almoſt every Engliſhman is partial, it is no eaſy matter to avoid falling into their errors: but I have laboured to view this part of our hiſtory without receiving any bias from party; and our conſtitution is now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, whatever we may think of this monarch's equity, or his ſubjects reſolution. Our laws, at preſent, differ both from what Charles endeavoured to maintain, and what his parliaments pretended to enact: we now are all agreed, that unlimited power arrogated on one ſide, and tumultuous freedom introduced on the other, are both intolerable; yet, of the two, perhaps deſpotiſm is ſuperior. In a republic, the number of tyrants are uncontroulable, for they can ſupport each other in oppreſſion; in a monarchy, there is one object, who,

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if he offends, is eaſily puniſhable, becauſe he is but one. The oppreſſions of a monarch are generally exerted only in the narrow ſphere round him: the oppreſſions of the governors of a republic, though not ſo flagrant, are more univerſal: the monarch is apt to commit great enormities, but they ſeldom reach the multitude at humble diſtance from the throne; the republican deſpot oppreſſes the multitude that lies within the circle of his influence, for he knows them: the monarch terrifies me with great evils, which I may never feel; the deſpot actually loads me with ſubmiſſions, which I am conſtantly obliged to ſuſtain; and, in my opinion, it is much better to be in danger of having my head chopped off with an ax once in my life, than to have my leg galled with a continual fetter.

Whatever were the reaſonings of the king upon his ſubject, it is certain his actions were intended for the benefit of his ſubjects; but he continued to rule them upon the maxims of former princes, at a time when the principles of the ſubjects were totally changed. The houſe of commons ſeemed now to have thrown off all ſubordination; they not only arraigned and attainted almoſt all the king's miniſters, particularly Laud, Strafford, Finch, and Windebanck, but paſſed an act to make that parliament continual, until all grievances ſhould be redreſſed. The king complied with every meaſure, yet all his compliance only ſerved to increaſe their demands. The earl of Strafford firſt fell a victim to their popular fury: the commons exhibited an accuſation of twenty-eight articles againſt him; the ſubſtance of which was, That he had attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and had been guilty of ſeveral exactions in Ireland. Theſe received the name of high treaſon, and the people without demanded

manded juſtice. The managers for the houſe of commons pleaded with vehemence againſt him at the bar of the houſe of lords, who were his judges: they inſiſted, that, though each article ſeparately did not amount to a proof, yet the whole taken together carried conviction. This is a method of arguing frequently uſed in the Engliſh courts of juſtice, even to this day; and, perhaps, none can be more erroneous: for almoſt every falſehood may thus be defended by a multiplicity of weak reaſons. In this tumult of aggravation and clamour, the earl himſelf, whoſe parts and wiſdom had long been reſpected and acknowledged, ſtood unmoved. He defended his innocence with all the preſence of mind, judgment, and temper, that could be expected from innocence and ability. His little children were placed near him, as he was thus defending his own cauſe, and that of his maſter: after he had, in a long and eloquent ſpeech, delivered extempore, confuted the accuſation of his enemies, he thus drew to a concluſion: *But, my Lords, I have troubled you too long; longer than I ſhould have done, but for the ſake of thoſe dear pledges a ſaint in heaven has left me* ---Upon this he pauſed, dropped a tear, looked upon his children, and then proceeded ---*What I forfeit for myſelf, is a trifle; that my indiſcretions ſhould reach my poſterity, wounds me to the heart. Pardon my infirmity.- -Something I ſhould have added, but am not able; therefore, let it paſs.---And now, my lords, for myſelf, I have long been taught, that the afflictions of this life are overpaid by that eternal weight of glory which awaits the innocent; and ſo, my lords, even ſo, with the utmoſt tranquillity, I ſubmit myſelf to your judgment. Whether that judgment be life or death,* TE DEUM LAUDAMUS. His eloquence and innocence ſeemed to influence his judges: the king himſelf

ſelf went to the houſe of lords, and ſpoke in his defence; but the ſpirit of the people was excited, and nothing but his blood would give them ſatisfaction. He was condemned by both houſes, and nothing now remained but for the king to give his conſent to the bill of attainder. But his conſent ſeemed of little conſequence; the limits of royalty were long ſince broken down, and imminent dangers might attend his refuſal. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to behave, he received a letter from the unfortunate nobleman himſelf, deſiring that his life might be made the ſacrifice of a mutual agreement between the king and the people; adding, that to a willing mind there could be no injury. This noble inſtance of generoſity was but ill repaid; the king was perſuaded to give his conſent; he ſigned the fatal bill; Strafford was beheaded and this taught his ſubjects ſoon after to ſpill blood that was ſtill more precious. *A. D.* 1641.

The whole kingdom now ſeemed to be in a ferment: all the petitions of parliament, which were in reality calculated to abaſe the king, were, notwithſtanding, drawn up with the moſt ſeeming affection and obedience; they were conſtantly complaining in each of theſe their fears for the church, at the very time that they were themſelves labouring its overthrow. Faction ran high. In the king's party there was an ill projected and worſe conducted deſign of keeping the prerogative as much untouched as ever it had been in the reigns of the moſt fortunate and formidable monarchs; in the oppoſite party, a fixed reſolution of turning the ſtate into a republic, and changing the government of the church into that of preſbytery.

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In the midſt of theſe troubles, the papiſts of Ireland fancied they found a convenient opportunity of throwing off the Engliſh yoke. Religion and liberty often inſpire the moſt atrocious actions; and they did ſo now. The papiſts took a reſolution, of which we find many horrid examples in hiſtory. They attempted to cut off all the proteſtants in that kingdom at one blow. Not leſs than forty thouſand perſons fell a ſacrifice upon this occaſion. In ſuch a number of murders, cruelty put on a thouſand different ſhapes; rapes, burnings, and tortures, were practiſed in every part of that miſerable iſland; and all the proteſtants periſhed who had not the good fortune to make early proviſion for their ſafety. Such was the ſtate of Ireland then, and ſuch was England ſhortly to be. The parliament took this opportunity to blacken the king, as if he had given ſanction to the papiſts, and encouraged their barbarous deſign: he vindicated himſelf with a zeal that nothing but innocence could inſpire; and tried every method of aſſiſting his proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland. He even demanded ſuccours from the parliament of Scotland to relieve the Iriſh proteſtants; but they remitted him to the parliament of England, as Ireland lay more immediately under their protection. The Engliſh houſe of commons ſent but feeble ſuccours to a people they pretended to deplore, and gave it as a pretext that the government at home was in danger.

The parliament now proceeded to what they long laboured at, to eſtabliſh a republic, and deſtroy the rites of the church of England. They ſignified to the king, that it was fit to have a privy-council only of their appointing. Three members of the houſe of commons preſented this requeſt on their knees. The king was pleaſed to grant all. Oliver Crom-

well,

well, who was then in the houſe of commons, was heard to declare, that, if this requeſt was rejected, he would ſell his eſtate, which was then but ſmall, and retire out of the kingdom.

Hitherto it is probable, both ſides were actuated rather by principal than ambition. The biſhops had hitherto adhered cloſely to the king; they were not only expelled the houſe of lords, but, upon remonſtrating againſt this unconſtitutional meaſure, were accuſed by the houſe of commons of high-treaſon, and ten of them ſent to the Tower. This ſpirit of epidemic rage was not confined to both houſes of parliament alone; the populace daily ſurrounded the place of ſitting, and, with tumultuous cries, demanded juſtice. The apprentices, the common-council, and the citizens of London, were foremoſt in this ſtruggle for liberty, as they thought it. However, their principals were ſincere; for the motives of a mob, though often wrong, are always honeſt. In this conteſt, the preſbyterians and cardinal Richelieu of France were ever intriguing: both deſired a civil war, the one willing to depreſs the great, the other to humble the kingdom.

In this decline of the royal authority, the king was perſuaded to take another ſtep that was fatal to his intereſts. By the advice of lord Digby, one of his miniſters, he went himſelf to the houſe of commons, and accuſed five of its members of high-treaſon. Theſe were the leading members of the houſe, whom he thus ventured to call in queſtion; namely, lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode. He ſat, for ſome time, in the ſpeaker's chair, to ſee if the accuſed were preſent; but they had eſcaped a few minutes before his entry, and the houſe of commons war reſolved to ſupportthe cauſe. Diſappointed, perplexed,

plexed, unknown whom to rely on, the king went next to the common-council of the city, and made his complaint to them: the common-council only anſwered by aggravating his former miſconduct. From thence he went to Windſor, were, reflecting upon the raſhneſs of his former proceeding, he wrote to the parliament, informing them, *that he deſiſted from his proceedings againſt the accuſed members, and aſſuring the parliament, that upon all occaſions he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or of his crown.* His violence (as a fine writer remarks) had firſt rendered him hateful to his commons, and his ſubmiſſion now contemptible.

The commons had already ſtripped the king of almoſt all his privileges; the power of appointing governors, generals, and levying armies, ſtill remained: they therefore proceeded to petition, that the Tower might be put into their hands; that Hull, Portſmouth, and the fleet, ſhould be commanded by perſons of their chuſing. Theſe requeſts were, at firſt conteſted, and then complied with. At laſt the commons deſired to have a militia raiſed, and governed by ſuch officers and commanders as they ſhould nominate, under pretext of ſecuring them from the Iriſh papiſts, whom they affected to be in dread of. This was depriving the king of even the ſhadow of his former power; but they had gone too far now to recede, and feared leaving him any power, as knowing themſelves the firſt objects on which its vengeance might be exerciſed. He was willing to grant the raiſing a militia, but inſiſted upon appointing his commanders. The parliament deſired to command it for an appointed time; but the king, at laſt provoked to reſentment, cried, that they ſhould not command it, *no not for an hour.* This peremptory refuſal broke off all further

treaty,

treaty, and now both ſides were reſolved to have recourſe to arms.

Charles retired to York, and the queen went over to Holland, to raiſe money upon the crown jewels, and provide ammunition and forces. The parliament in the mean time were not idle; they knew their ſtrength and popularity, and publiſhed propoſals for bringing in money or plate for the defence of the kingdom. But, though each ſide was prepared for war, yet they took every precaution to lay the blame of the firſt infraction of peace on each other. The king offered propoſals to the commons, which he knew they would not accept; and they, in return, offered him nineteen propoſitions, which, if complied with, would have rendered him entirely ſubſervient to their commands: their import was, that the privy council, the principal officers of ſtate, the governors of the king's children, forts, caſtles, fleet, armies, ſhould be all appointed or governed by parliament; that papiſts ſhould be puniſhed by their authority; that the church and liturgy ſhould be reformed at their diſcretion; and that ſuch members as had been diſplaced for former offences ſhould be reſtored. Theſe propoſals, which, if they had been accepted, would have moulded the government into an ariſtocratical form, were, happily for poſterity, rejected; and the king and his parliament continued to reproach each other for a civil war, of which both were actually guilty.

LETTER XLII.

IN this detail of public calamities you are not to expect any great ſtrokes either in politics or war; each party was too ſincere to give much at-

tention to any thing but the dictates of paſſion, enthuſiaſm, or zeal. The parliament was convinced that it drew the ſword in defence of liberty, and the king was equally ſtedfaſt in believing that he had the authority of heaven for oppoſing their pretenſions: they therefore took the field with little conduct, and courage alone in the troops generally decided the fortune of the day.

The parliament, from its own authority, conſtituted Sir John Hotham, a ſitting member of the houſe of commons, governor of Hull. In this city there was a large magazine of arms, ammunition, and proviſions. The king, ſenſible of the importance of the place, was deſirous of ſecuring of it to himſelf; he therefore approached the gates with three hundred horſe, and demanded entrance. Hotham ſtill preſerved ſome appearance of reſpect to his ſovereign, and on his knees refuſed to admit him. Diſloyalty is ever timid in the beginning.

A. D. 1642.

Manifeſtoes, on one ſide and the other, were now diſperſed through the whole kingdom, and the people were univerſally divided into two factions, that went by the name of Royaliſts and Roundheads. The king ordered the nobility to attend his perſon; he procured the great ſeal from London, and erected his ſtandard at Nottingham. The people in general ſeemed to have loſt all reſpect to his perſon and government: the laws promulgated by parliament, without the ſanction of the great ſeal, were obſerved with due obedience; and the royal ſtandard was ſcarce followed by any, except a few militia. At length, however, with the ſuccours furniſhed by the queen, and the preſent of the univerſity of Oxford and his clergy, he raiſed an army of about fourteen thouſand men, commanded

manded by prince Rupert, a man of courage and ſome experience. The parliament, which diſpoſed of the money of the nation, had one ſtill more numerous, commanded by the earl of Eſſex, who fought from principle, and who only wiſhed to bring the king to reaſon.

When the king advanced from Nottingham, and approached near Shrewſbury, he drew up his little army, and made them a ſpeach: *I promiſe*, ſaid he to the ſoldiers, *in the preſence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his bleſſing and protection, that I will ever defend the proteſtant religion, and in that religion am reſolved to live and die. The laws of the land, and the rights of my ſubjects, ſhall ever be the meaſure of my government; and, if heaven proſper this little army, raiſed for their king's defence, I promiſe to rule by parliaments alone, and by every equitable adminiſtration. When I fail in theſe particulars, then let me be abandoned by men; and in this reſolution I hope for the aſſiſtance of all good men, and am confident of the protection of providence.*

Eſſex, on the other hand, was reſolved to ſet up his head-quarters at Worceſter, and await the king; where, in a few days, a ſkirmiſh enſued in favour of the royaliſts; and the battle of Edge-hill, fought ſome time after, ſeemed to confirm the king's ſuperiority. The queen had brought him ſoldiers from Holland, with ammunition and arms, and immediately departed in order to furniſh more: yet ſtill the parliament was not diſcouraged; their demands ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to their loſſes; and, as they were defeated in the field, they grew more haughty in the cabinet. They condemned for high treaſon ſuch governors of towns as gave up their fortreſſes to the king; while he, on the contrary, offered new terms of peace upon every advantage. But though

his desire to spare his subjects was laudable, as a man, yet his long negotiations were faulty, as a warrior wasted that time in altercation and proposal, which should have been employed in vigorous exertions in the field. Upon the whole, his first campaign seemed to promise him success; his generals were mostly victorious, and his army far superior to the enemy in point of discipline. On the side of the parliament, the great Hampden was slain in the battle of Chaldgrave field; and on the other hand on the king's part, the gallant lord Faulkland was killed at the battle of Newbury. These were the two greatest, bravest, and wisest men of their time, who thus fell, as if, by the kindness of Providence, to prevent their seeing the miseries and the slaughter in which their country was shortly to be involved.

Hampden was the person who had refused paying ship-money, and withstood the power of the crown: his inflexible integrity gained him the esteem even of his enemies; and his humanity and benevolence, the affection of all that knew him more intimately.

But Faulkland was still a greater character than he. He added to Hampden's severe principles all the politeness and elegance then known in Europe. He had withstood the king, while he saw him making an ill use of his power; but, when he perceived the design of the parliament to change religion, he changed his side, and stedfastly attached himself to the crown. From the beginning of the civil war, his natural chearfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and he became sad, pale, and negligent of his person. The morning of the battle it was seen he desired to die, and he professed that the miseries of his country had already almost broken his heart. He added, that he was weary of the times, and should

leave

ſeave them before night. He was ſhot with a muſquet in the belly, and his body was the next morning found among an heap of ſlain. His writings, his juſtice, and his courage, deſerved ſuch a death of glory; and they found it. If there be happineſs in death, it muſt be in ſuch an end, falling in battle for our king and principles.

Each battle ſerved only to weaken the royal party, and to unite the parliament more ſtrongly together; the king and his followers were held together only by ſecular motives; the parliament had long been actuated by one ſtill ſtronger, that of religion: this had hitherto been the ſecret ſpring of all their commotions, and now they fairly threw by the maſk, united themſelves to the church of Scotland, and ſigned the ſolemn league and covenant, which eſtabliſhed puritaniſm, and laid the foundation of a new republic. The king, to oppoſe the deſigns of the Weſtminſter parliament, called one at Oxford, where it aſſembled; and *A. D.* 1644. England now ſaw, what it had never before ſeen, two parliaments ſitting at one and the ſame time. From this partial parliament he received ſome ſupplies; after which it was prorogued, and never after convened. The war went on with its uſual fury, and ſkirmiſhes on both ſides were frequent, which ſerved to deſolate the kingdom without deciding victory. Each county joined that ſide to which it was addicted from motives of conviction, intereſt, or fear; while ſome obſerved a perfect neutrality. Several frequently petitioned for peace; the wiſe and the good were moſt earneſt in this cry; but what particularly deſerved remark was, the attempt of the women of London, who, to the number of two or three thouſand, went in a body to the houſe of commons, earneſtly demanding a peace:

Give us thoſe traitors, ſaid they, *that are againſt peace; give them, that we may tear them in pieces.* The guards found ſome difficulty in quelling this inſurrection, and one or two women loſt their lives in the fray.

It is both tedious and unimproving to deſcribe all the combats, the battles, the ſkirmiſhes, that every day paſſed on either ſide; what towns were beſieged and taken, how many killed in fight, or what numbers died by the hands of the executioner: every civil war preſents the ſame picture to the imagination; and this was aggravated with all the miſeries of rage, reſentment, and deſpair. All were from principle earneſtly employed in deſtroying the conſtitution. There were few of thoſe refined underſtandings, who, diſengaged from the prejudices of party, improved the univerſal prejudice of the time to acquire dominion for themſelves; all were ſeriouſly, earneſtly, and blindly engaged in the favourite purſuit. The genius of the times was great, but irregular.

Among the number who moſt ſeverely felt the indignation of the commons, was the famous William Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury. He had been impriſoned in the Tower at the time when nine more of the biſhops were ſent there for remonſtrating to the lords againſt the ſeverity of the lower houſe. When he was brought to the bar, in order to make his defence, he ſpoke ſeveral hours with that courage which is the reſult of innocence and integrity. The lords, his judges, were willing to acquit him; but the commons were determined upon his death, and over-ruled all remonſtrances made in his favour. When brought to the ſcaffold, this noble divine, without any apparent terror, made the people a long ſpeech. He told them, "That he had examined his

"heart,

"heart, and thanked God that he found no ſins "there which deſerved the death he was going to "ſuffer. The king had been traduced by ſome, as "labouring to introduce popery; but that he be- "lieved him as ſound a proteſtant as any man in "the kingdom: and as for parliaments, though he "diſliked the conduct of one or two, yet he never "deſigned to change the laws of the country, or "the proteſtant religion." After he had prayed for a ſhort ſpace, the executioner did his office at one blow. This man ſeemed born to a better fate and better times; but all diſtinctions of right and wrong were now loſt in mutual animoſity; and in general the beſt characters on both ſides were thoſe who fell victims to civil fury. He was learned, upright, and ſincere; humble in his private deportment, but attached to trifling ceremonies, and ready to loſe his life rather than give them up.

The liturgy was, by a public act, aboliſhed the day he died, as if he had been the only obſtacle to its formal removal. The church of England was rendered completely preſbyterian, to the great ſatisfaction of the Scots, and numbers of the citizens of London. An ordinance was eſtabliſhed, by which there ſhould be one day in every week appointed as a faſt, and the money which was thus ſpared to the family, was to be paid in ſupport of the common cauſe. Thus ſtrengthened, the parliament ſeemed capable of carrying on their deſigns in an arbitrary manner; they had the Scots to aſſiſt them; they profeſſed only one religion, and were united by the bonds of mutual danger. However, from the moment they came all to be ranked under the denomination of preſbyterians they again began to ſeparate into new parties, as if diviſions were neceſſary to the exiſtence of this parliament: one part of the houſe

were preſbyterians, ſtrictly ſo called; the other independents, a new ſect that had lately been introduced, and gained ground ſurpriſingly. The difference between theſe two ſects would hardly be worth mentioning, did not their religious opinions influence their political conduct. The church of England, which was now totally aboliſhed, had appointed biſhops and a book of common prayer; the preſbyterians exclaimed againſt both; they were for having the church governed by clergymen elected by the people. The independents went ſtill farther, and excluded all clergy: they maintained that every man might pray in public, exhorting his audience, and explain the ſcriptures: but their chief difference lay in acknowledging no ſubordination in ſecular employments, and attempting to maintain an ideal equality, in which they juſtly obſerved that every man was born. Were ſuch a plan of government practicable, it would no doubt be the moſt happy: but the wiſe and powerful muſt ever govern over ignorance and debility; and the bad ſucceſs of their ſchemes, ſoon after carried into execution, ſhewed how ill adapted they were to human infirmity. Poſſeſſed, however, with an high opinion of their ſpeculative ſcheme, they behaved with that moroſe and ſullen carriage which is ever the reſult of narrow manners and ſolitary thinking. They ſecretly laboured the abaſement of the preſbyterians, yet joined them in their efforts to depreſs the king.

Charles, now perceiving the parliament of England and Scotland united againſt him, and fearing to fall under their united efforts, thought proper to make a truce with the papiſts of Ireland, in order to bring over the Engliſh troops who ſerved in that kingdom. By this means he not only had many of the Engliſh

troops

troops that ſerved there, but alſo ſeveral of the native Iriſh, who came to increaſe his army. It was then the parliament complained with truth of his employing papiſts in his ſervice, and ſtill farther extended their reproach, by ſaying that he encouraged them to rebel. Theſe troops, however, only ſerved to procure the hatred of his ſubjects without ſtrengthening his army. They were totally routed by Fairfax, one of the generals of the parliament army, and ſlaughtered without mercy after ſubmiſſion. It was ſaid, that ſeveral Iriſh women were found among the ſlain, who with long knives did conſiderable execution; but the animoſity of the Engliſh againſt thoſe wretches, at that time, might have given riſe to the calumny. *A. D.* 1645.

One misfortune now ſeemed to follow cloſe upon another: prince Rupert, who had long ſuſtained the honour of the royal arms, was defeated at York, and his army diſperſed, by Fairfax. Charles had retired to Oxford; his preſent danger excited his friends to new efforts; he levied new forces, and had ſome ſlight ſucceſs. But this appearance of good fortune did not continue. His army was turbulent and ſeditious: that of the parliament every day improved in diſcipline, and obeyed from principle. Among other inſtances of this nature was that act called the *ſelf-denying ordinance*, by which it was reſolved, that no member of the houſe of commons ſhould have a command in the army. The reaſons aſſigned for this were ſpecious, and perhaps ſincere. It was done to prevent the parliament's wiſhing for the continuance of the war, in order to enjoy a continuing ſhare of authority. The former generals were therefore changed: the earls of Eſſex, Denbigh, and Mancheſter, gave up their commiſſions; and Fairfax, with the aſſiſtance

of Cromwell, new-modelled the army without any oppoſition.

It was the general opinion, that this new alteration would enfeeble the parliament army: but the event proved otherwiſe; they were, after this, every where victorious. Both armies met near Naſeby. The king, who commanded the main body of his own troops, ſhewed himſelf upon this occaſion a courageous general, encouraging his ſoldiers where giving way, and rallying them in perſon when broken. The enemy, however, was victorious; wherever Cromwell fought he brought conqueſt and terror, and the defeat of the royal army was principally owing to him. This fatal blow the king could never after recover. All his infantry where ſo ſcattered, that the enemy took as many priſoners as they pleaſed; his baggage, and the cabinet in which his moſt ſecret papers were contained, fell into the hands of his purſuers; and yet, after all, there were not above ſix hundred men ſlain upon the field of battle.

It was about this time that Cromwell's courage and genius began to appear. He had hitherto been only a turbulent ſpeaker in the houſe of commons, and the leader of a regiment in the army; but he now diſcovered talents greater than his employments, and his preſent ſucceſs opened to him the proſpects of ambition which he never after loſt ſight of. Hiſtorians ſeldom diſtinguiſh properly in the changes to be found in the ſame character. It is probable Cromwell began to act in the ſtate with principles of conviction and ſincerity; but, new occurrences ariſing, his ſoul was not proof to the allurements of fortune; he gave way to her ſeducing call. Had he been on the oppreſſed ſide, he might have diſplayed ſurpriſing inſtances of conſtancy and integrity;

tegrity; but, happening to be victorious, he became a tyrant and uſurper, and bathed his country with royal blood.

Cromwell was poſſeſſed of apparent humility and internal pride. This is juſt the character which Machiavel deſcribes for a ſucceſsful uſurper. He was originally the ſon of a private gentleman of a moderate fortune, who had ſome years before attempted leaving the kingdom upon a principle of religion, but was prevented by the king. This religious deportment Cromwell ever inviolably preſerved: it ſecured him an aſcendancy in the houſe of commons, were the majority were enthuſiaſts; it gained him the affections of Fairfax the general, who was courageous, ignorant, and ſincere; it acquired him the love of the army, where his preſence was coveted: and he alone was permitted to unite the military and civil employments in his perſon; for he had a ſeat in the houſe while he was a colonel in the field. But he was ſtill reſolved farther to ſtrengthen his intereſts by attaching the independents privately to his ſide; they increaſed in numbers and power by his means, and he, in return, found them reſolute and perſevering friends.

The battle of Naſeby ſeemed fatal to the intereſts of the king; and Fairfax and Cromwell availed themſelves of the circumſtances that offered. Every city that they appeared before capitulated. The young prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. participated in the misfortunes of his father, and fled to the iſland of Scilly. The king drew the ſhattered remains of his army into Oxford, and once more demanded peace; but, if he could not obtain it in the proſperous ſtate of his affairs, it was not likely that he could now ſucceed in his deſires after a defeat. The houſe of commons inſulted his misfor-

tunes. His letters to the queen were publiſhed, with thoſe ill-natured remarks and railleries which none but the vicious are capable of making. To be at once merry and malicious is the ſign of a corrupt heart and underſtanding.

The king, after having taken every meaſure that he thought could procure peace, without effect, now ſaw himſelf ſhut up in Oxford, a place almoſt without any fortifications, and every day in danger of falling into the power of a fierce and exaſperated party. In ſuch a ſituation he therefore was obliged to chuſe the leaſt of two evils, and to deliver himſelf up to the Scots army, rather than the Engliſh, as he expected to find leſs animoſity in the former. The Scots officers had made him ſome general promiſes, grounded, probably upon the hopes of his compliance with every requeſt they ſhould make. He ſent them word of his intention to come to their army; and they promiſed to receive him, and provide for his ſafety. Upon this precarious aſſurance, the king left Oxford, and, travelling through by-ways and obſcure places, arrived at the Scots army in nine days. From that moment he ceaſ-
Jan. 30, 1646. ed to be free. The Scots began to negotiate with the Engliſh army, carried their royal priſoner about from one place to another, and, at length, upon conſideration of being paid the arrears due for their ſervice in England, which amounted to two hundred thouſand pounds, they delivered up their king, and returned home laden with the reproaches of all good men, and the internal conviction of their own baſeneſs. From this period to the uſurpation of Cromwell, the conſtitutian was convulſed with all the diſtractions of guilt and party. When the kingly power was aboliſhed, the parliament then took up the authority; but they were

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ſoon to lay it down in turn, and ſubmit to a mili-tary democracy; a new form of government, which, like all other democracies, was turbulent, feeble, and bloody.

LETTER XLIII.

THE civil war was now over, and the army of Scotland, being paid the reward of perfidy returned to its country. The parliament had now no enemy to fear, except thoſe very troops which had fought their battles with ſucceſs. You have already been informed, that this army, by a political ſtroke of Cromwell, was rendered independent of the parliament, and all its generals diſabled from ſitting there. The commons therefore were now willing to get rid of it as ſoon as poſſible, well knowing, that, if the army continued, inſtead of receiving laws, it would preſume to dictate: they therefore paſſed a vote, by which it was ordained, that a part of it ſhould be diſbanded, and another part of it ſent over to Ireland. It may eaſily be imagined that Cromwell would not ſuffer this. Now was the criſis of his greatneſs, and he ſeiſed the opportunity: he formed a council of officers, and another of common ſoldiers, called agitators, who were appointed to enquire into the grievances of the army, and lay them before the parliament. The very ſame conduct which had formerly paſſed between the parliament and king, was now put in practice between the army and parliament. As the commons granted every requeſt, the army roſe in their demands: thoſe accuſed the army of mutiny and ſedition, and theſe retorted the accuſation,

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by alledging a manifeſt deſign in the parliament to rule alone.

The king had been confined, ſince he came into the power of the Engliſh, at Holmby-caſtle: the army were reſolved to be poſſeſſed of his perſon, and ſent one Joyce, a cornet, who from a taylor was become an officer, to take the king by force, and bring him a priſoner to Newmarket. This commiſſion he executed with intrepidity and diſpatch. It was in vain that the commons, now without power, complained of this inſolence: the army, inſtead of being awed by their menaces, marched towards London, and now, in turn, preſcribed laws to their employers. Cromwell, willing to give all his injuſtice the appearance of rectitude, cauſed eleven members of the houſe of commons to be accuſed. Theſe were the moſt powerful and leading ſpeakers; which ſo aſtoniſhed the members, that, willing to appeaſe the army at any rate, they writ to the general, that they were ready to receive any particular charge againſt ſuch as fell under his diſpleaſure.

This was an overture for peace; but pre-eminence was what the army aimed at. Inſtead therefore of being pleaſed at this condeſcenſion, the commander turned their accuſation into a general complaint, and tried every method to provoke a quarrel, which the other endeavoured to evade. The citizens of London, at length opened their eyes: they now ſaw the conſtitution effectually deſtroyed; they ſaw an oppreſſive parliament now ſubjected to a more oppreſſive army; they perceived their religion aboliſhed, their king a captive, and the people expoſed to the worſt of ſlavery.

In this exigence the common-council aſſembled the militia of the city, the works were manned, and a ma-

a manifeſto publiſhed, aggravating the hoſtile intentions of the army. The houſe of commons was not leſs divided than the ſtate: one part was for encouraging the citizens to proceed, while the reſt, with the two ſpeakers at their head, was for the army. The ſlighteſt diviſions, in ſuch a ſituation, are ſoon attended with violent conſequences. The commons ſeparated. The ſpeakers, with ſixty-two members, quitted the houſe to ſeek protection from the army, while thoſe who remained behind gave orders, and eſtabliſhed laws, as if they had power to enforce obedience.

Their aſſumed power, however, continued but a ſhort time; for the army, with the ſpeakers at their head, ſoon approached the city. Fear, therefore, compelled the common-council to concur in meaſures which they tacitly diſapproved. They opened their gates to their general, who, attended by the two ſpeakers, and the reſt of the members, repaired to their reſpective habitations. The parliament thus over-awed, gave up the command of the Tower to general Fairfax, and ordered him the thanks of both houſes for having diſobeyed their commands.

It ſtill remained to diſpoſe of the king, who had been ſent priſoner to Hampton-court. The independents, at the head of whom was Cromwell, and the preſbyterians, in the name of either houſe, treated ſeparately with him in private: he even had hopes that in theſe ſtruggles for power he might be choſen mediator in the diſpute, and expected that the ſtate, at laſt, ſenſible of the miſeries of anarchy, like a froward child, huſhed by its own importunities, would ſettle under its former tranquil conſtitution. But he was ſoon undeceived when he found the army and the generals maſters in the diſpute; and when, as he had hitherto been uſed with ſome degree

gree of reſpect, upon their prevailing, he ſaw himſelf treated with very little difference or conſideration. He therefore reſolved to ſeek ſafety by flight, and attended by two of his courtiers, fled from his confinement, and travelled on horſeback all night to the ſea-ſide, in order to embark for France, leaving behind him a letter to both houſes of parliament. His uſual fortunes, however, ſtill attended him here; no ſhip was in readineſs at the place appointed, and he had no other method left, but to truſt to the generoſity of the governor of the iſle of Wight for protection. Colonel Hammond was then in that command; a creature of Cromwell, who had been placed there by the intereſt of John Hampden, whom we have ſeen ſuch an oppoſer of the king. His majeſty's attendants, whoſe names were Aſhburnham and Berkeley, went to talk with the governor upon this important occaſion, who, inſtead of promiſing the protection required, only returned an evaſive anſwer, and deſired to be conducted to the king. Upon this, all three went together to the houſe, where the unfortunate monarch expected their arrival; but Hammond ſtaid below. When Aſhburnham informed his majeſty that Hammond was come to wait upon him, but that he had given no promiſe for protection, the king, who had now found almoſt all the world unfaithful, could not help crying out, *O Jack, thou haſt undone me!* Aſhburnham burſt into a ſhower of tears, and offered to kill Hammond that moment with his own hand. The humane monarch would not permit this. Hammond was brought up, and the king, being compelled to follow him to Cariſbrook caſtle, was once more made a priſoner, and treated by Hammond with only the outward appearance of reſpect.

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In the mean time, the parliament continued every day to grow more feeble and more factious; the army more powerful and better united. Cromwell had taken every precaution to eſtabliſh ſuch a ſubordination among his troops, as was neceſſary to conduct them with eaſe, and invigorate his proceedings. But his views were in ſome danger of being controverted, at this juncture, by a new and unheard-of confederacy. The independents were for having no ſubordination in government. A ſet of men called levellers now aroſe, who declared againſt any other governor than Chriſt. They declared that all degrees ſhould be levelled, and an equality univerſally eſtabliſhed in titles and eſtates. They preſented ſeveral petitions, and carried their inſolence to an immeaſurable pitch. Cromwell at once ſaw that he was now upon the point of loſing all the fruits of his former ſchemes and dangers, and dreaded this new faction ſtill the more, as they turned his own pretended principles againſt himſelf: thus finding all at ſtake, he was reſolved, by one reſolute blow, to diſperſe the faction, or periſh in the attempt. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before the terrified aſſembly, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what their aſſembly and murmurings would be at; and, receiving an inſolent anſwer he laid two of the moſt remarkable dead upon the ground with his own hands. The guards diſperſing the reſt, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be hanged upon the ſpot, ſent others priſoners to London, and thus diſperſed a faction, no otherwiſe criminal than in having followed his own example.

This action ſerved ſtill more to increaſe his power in the camp, in the parliament, and in the city.

Fairfax,

Fairfax, now become a lord, was nominal general, but Cromwell was inveſted with all the power of the army. The king, a priſoner in the iſle of Wight, ſtill continued to negotiate a peace; while the parliament ſaw no other method of deſtroying the military power which themſelves had raiſed, but by oppoſing to it that of the king. Frequent propoſitions therefore paſſed between the captive monarch and the commons; but the great obſtacle, which was their inſiſting upon deſtroying epiſcopacy, ſtill defeated every meaſure.

In the mean time, the Scots, aſhamed of having been thought to have ſold their king, raiſed an army in his favour: many of the young nobility in England ſeconded their intentions: the king's deſperate affairs once more began to wear a favourable aſpect, which Cromwell perceiving, led his veteran army to certain victory. Succeſs ſtill ſeemed to back his crimes: he defeated their forces entirely at Preſton, and took the duke of Hamilton, their general, priſoner. Fairfax, on the other hand, was equally ſucceſsful in Kent and Eſſex: the inſurgents having retired into the city of Colcheſter, which declared for the king, he blocked them up, and, having compelled them to ſurrender at diſcretion, he treated them with that inhumanity for which the republican army was at that time remarkable.

The parliament ſtill continued to treat with the king, and, apprehending more from the deſigns of their generals than the attempts of their monarch, ſeemed in earneſt, for the firſt time, in their negotiations: but it was now too late; the army ſoon returned crowned with their accuſtomed ſucceſs, and with furious remonſtrances demanded juſtice upon the king. They accuſed him as the cauſe of all the misfortunes of the kingdom, and inſiſted that his partizans

tizans and favourites ſhould ſhare with him in his public puniſhment. This remonſtrance was ſoon after backed by petitions from the garriſons diſperſed over different parts of the kingdom, and the counties of Somerſet and Norfolk concurred in the ſame demand. Fairfax, being influenced by Cromwell, and not perceiving that he was the tool of his crafty colleague, transferred his royal priſoner from the iſle of Wight to Hurſt-caſtle. The parliament complained of this arbitrary proceeding, but their remonſtrances were now but empty ſound. They began to iſſue ordinances for a more effectual oppoſition; but they received a meſſage from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a viſit next day with his army, and in the mean time ordered them to raiſe him upon the city of London forty thouſand pounds. Affrighted at the approaching danger, they complied with his demand; and, in the mean time, the general with his army came and took up his quarters in the ſkirts of the city. The commons ſtill proceeded in the treaty with the king; but this Cromwell was reſolved to oppoſe. They voted, that the carrying the king priſoner to Hurſt-caſtle was without the advice or conſent of the houſe: to puniſh them for this, Cromwell placed guards round their houſe, and made thoſe members priſoners whom he judged moſt oppoſite to his deſigns. One of his colonels, whoſe name was Pride, having a paper of names in his hand, ſeiſed upon one-and-forty, and ſent them to the Court of Wards, where they were kept under guard. Theſe were preſbyterians, the original authors of all the troubles, and who now fell victims to the ſide they had eſpouſed. The next day an hundred more of the numbers were denied entrance; and that part of the houſe which now remained was entirely compoſed of a ſmall body of

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independents, ludicrouſly called the Rump. Theſe ſoon voted, that the tranſactions of the houſe, a few days before, were illegal; and that the general's conduct was juſt and neceſſary.

This parliament, if it now deſerves that name, was nothing but a medley of the moſt obſcure citizens, the ſlave of the army, the officers of which, being themſelves members, ruled all their proceedings. It was now therefore unanimouſly reſolved in this ſeditious aſſembly to erect an High Court of Juſtice, with power to try the king for treaſon againſt the kingdom. For form-ſake they deſired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the other houſe; but, even here, there ſtill was virtue enough left unanimouſly to reject ſo horrid a propoſal. This no way abated the ardour of the commons: they voted that the concurrence of the houſe of lords was unneceſſary; they declared that all power was originally derived from the people; a declaration true in itſelf, but which they wreſted to the moſt deteſtable purpoſes. Colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurſt-caſtle to Windſor. When he arrived there, the council of war ordained that he ſhould be no longer treated with the difference due to royalty. All ceremony was laid aſide, and he now ſaw himſelf deprived of his ſervants, and expoſed to the contempt of low-bred inſolence. From the ſixth to the twentieth of January, the time was employed in making preparations for this aſtoniſhing ſcene of guilt. One hundred and forty-five perſons were appointed judges upon this occaſion; and one Bradſhaw, a practitioner of the law, was elected as preſident of this deteſtable ſynod.

The king was now conducted from Windſor to St. James's, and was next day produced before the High Court at Weſtminſter-hall to take his trial.

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He ſtill remembered the dignity he owed to himſelf before ſuch an inferior court; and, taking his place with his hat on, with a ſtern air ſurveyed his judges, who were alſo covered. When his charge was read, importing that he had been the cauſe of all the blood that was ſhed ſince the commencement of the rebellion, he could not repreſs a ſmile at once of contempt and indignation. He then demanded by what authority he was brought to ſuch a trial? to which Bradſhaw replied, that he was tried in the name of the commons of England. The king then objected to the legality of the tribunal, ſince the ſanction of the lords and his own were wanting to complete it; and refuſed to plead to the articles of the impeachment. Being deſired to anſwer ſeveral times, and perſiſting in his refuſal, he was remanded to his confinement, and the court adjourned. At their ſecond ſitting, the preſident again ſummoned the king to anſwer to his charge; and the king again demurred to the legality of his judges, and began to open his objections, when he was interrupted by Bradſhaw, and ſent back to priſon, as before. At his third appearance, he continued firm to his purpoſe, and refuſed to comply until he ſhould be convinced, that their proceedings were not contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The fourth and laſt time he appeared before this ſelf-created court of juſtice, as he was going thither, he was inſulted by the ſoldiers and the mob, who exclaimed, *Juſtice, juſtice! Execution, execution!* He appeared before the court with the ſame firm compoſure as uſual, with his hat on; and while his ſentence was reading, in which he was branded with all the odious appellations that malice could ſuggeſt, he diſcovered no other emotions than thoſe of pity. In walking back from this horrid tribunal, the rabble

renewed the cry of *Juſtice! Execution!* and, among other inſults, one miſcreant preſumed to ſpit in the face of his king. He patiently wiped his face: *Poor ſouls*, ſaid he, *they would treat their generals in the ſame manner for ſixpence.* A ſoldier more compaſſionate than the reſt, could not help imploring a bleſſing upon his royal head; an officer, overhearing it, ſtruck the pious centinel to the ground in preſence of the monarch, who could not help ſaying, *that the puniſhment exceeded the offence.* The day of execution was fixed to be the third after his ſentence; which when it arrived, he was conducted on foot through St. James's park to Whitehall, accompanied by doctor Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot, under the command of Colonel Tomlinſon. The ſcaffold was covered with black, in the middle of which were ſeen the block and ax, with two executioners in maſques. The ſoldiers were placed round it, and an infinite concourſe of ſpectators waited with ſilent horror at a greater diſtance. The king ſurveyed all their ſolemn preparations with calm compoſure: he aſſured the perſons who ſtood with him upon the ſcaffold, that he thought himſelf guiltleſs of any crime, but that of having giving up the earl of Strafford to the fury of his enemies; and that he had confidence in the mercy of heaven. While he thus avowed his innocence, the biſhop who attended him, warned him that he had but one ſtage more to heaven; at which the king cried out, *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no diſturbance can arrive.* "You are exchanged, re-
"plied the biſhop, from a temporal to an eternal
"crown; a good exchange!" Having now taken off his cloak, he delivered his George to the prelate, emphatically pronouncing the word *Remember.* He then laid his head

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on the block, and ſtretched forth his hands as a ſignal. One of the men in a maſque ſevered his head from his body at a blow; and the other, holding it up, ſtreaming with gore, cried out, *This is the head of a traitor!* Such was the death of Charles, who lived long enough to ſee the laws and conſtitution of his country expire before him. He had the misfortune to be bred up in high notions of the prerogative, which he thought it his duty to ſuſtain. He lived at a time when the ſpirit of the law was in oppoſition to the genius of the people; and governing by old rules, inſtead of endeavouring to accommodate himſelf to the changes of the times, he fell in the univerſal convulſion. Many kings before him expired by treaſons, plots, or aſſaſſination; but never ſince the times of Agis the Lacedemonian, was any but he ſacrificed by their ſubjects with all the formalities of juſtice. Upon the whole, it muſt be confeſſed, that, though the nation was branded by foreigners with reproach upon this occaſion, yet theſe ſtruggles at length ended in domeſtic happineſs and ſecurity: the laws became more preciſe, and the ſubjects more ready to obey, as if a previous fermentation in the conſtitution was neceſſary to its ſubſequent refinement.

LETTER XLIV.

CROMWELL, who had ſecretly ſolicited the king's death, now began to feel wiſhes to which he had been hitherto a ſtranger. He perceived himſelf not far removed from the object of his moſt unbounded ambition. His views expanded with ſucceſs, and his firſt principles of liberty ſhrunk when oppoſed to the unbounded proſpect of power. The parliament which was ſtill permitted to enjoy the ſhadow of

authority,

authority, voted it high treaſon to acknowledge Charles Stewart, ſon of the murdered king, as ſucceſſor to the throne. They likewiſe voted the houſe of lords uſeleſs and dangerous, and paſſed an act for the abolition of all kingly power. A great ſeal was made, on one ſide of which were engraved the arms of England and Ireland, with this inſcription, *The great ſeal of England*; on the reverſe was repreſented the houſe of commons ſitting, with this motto, *The firſt year of freedom, by God's Bleſſing reſtored*, 1648.

They next proceeded to try thoſe gallant men, whoſe attachment to their late ſovereign had been moſt remarkable. The duke of Hamilton and lord Capel were accuſed, condemned, and beheaded; ſeveral others ſhared the ſame fate. The earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were condemned, but reprieved. The Scots were not a little diſpleaſed at the death of the duke, who was executed not only contrary to the laws of war, but the laws of nations: they were therefore determined to acknowledge the young prince for their king. But their love of liberty, in ſome meaſure, ſeemed to combat their reſentment: they called him to the throne indeed, but, at the ſame time, abridged his power with every limitation which they had formerly attempted to impoſe on their late ſovereign. The ſecond Charles had neither the virtue, the conſtancy, nor the principles of his father. Attached to no religion, he agreed to all their propoſals, and was contented to accept the formalities without the power of a king. He was received at Edinburgh with demonſtrations of profound reſpect, and entered the city by that very gate on which the limbs of the brave Montroſe, one of his moſt faithful adherents were ſtill expoſed; but he ſoon found that the life he was likely to lead would be an unſupportable

portable bondage to one of his volatile diſpoſition. He was ſurrounded and inceſſantly importuned by the Scotch fanatical clergy, who came to inſtruct him in religion, and obliged him to liſten to long ſermons, in which they ſeldom failed to ſtigmatize the late king as a tyrant, to accuſe his mother of idolatry, and himſelf of an untoward diſpoſition. Upon appointed days he was obliged to hear ſix ſermons without intermiſſion. They inſiſted upon his obſerving Sunday with a Jewiſh ſtrictneſs. They even watched his looks; and, if he happened to ſmile at any part of their abſurd enthuſiaſms, he was reprimanded for his profaneneſs. Charles for a while bore this inſolence with hypocritical tranquillity, and even pretended to be greatly edified by their inſtructions: but, notwithſtanding this, he only wiſhed for an opportunity of eſcaping from ſuch a variety of diſguſting impertinence.

In the mean time, the Engliſh parliament, alarmed at the king's reſtitution in Scotland, *A. D.* 1649. ſent to call Cromwell from Ireland, where he had carried on the war with his uſual ſucceſs. He had reduced Kilkenny and many other places, and proſecuted his conqueſts with ſurpriſing rapidity. However, he now left the war in that kingdom to be carried on by Ireton, his deputy-lieutenant and returned to England, in obediance to the mandate of the parliament. When he took his ſeat in the houſe, the ſpeaker thanked him for the ſervices he had done the commonwealth. They then proceeded to deliberate upon the war with Scotland. They deſired to know if Fairfax would conduct the enterpriſe. Fairfax, a rigid preſbyterian, who had all along fought from principle, declined oppoſing a nation which he conſidered as co-operating in the ſame good work for

which he had firſt drawn the ſword; he therefore declined the command, ſent his commiſſion to the commons, and retired to ſpend the remainder of his life in privacy and peace.

This was an inlet to Cromwell's ſubſequent power; he was appointed general of the forces of the commonwealth, and ſoon marched into Scotland at the head of an army of eighteen thouſand men, long accuſtomed to conquer. He found general Leſley at the head of an army far more numerous than his own, but undiſciplined and mutinous. After ſome previous ſkirmiſhing, Cromwell ſaw himſelf in a very diſadvantageous poſt near Dunbar, and his antagoniſt ready to take advantage of his incommodious ſituation. However, perceiving the Scots preparing to give him battle, he aſſured the ſoldiers that the Lord had delivered the enemy into his hands, and ordered his army to ſing pſalms, as already aſſured of the victory. The miniſters of the Scotch army were not leſs ſanguine of their aſſurances of victory than he; they boldly promiſed ſucceſs in the name of the Lord, and excited a ſpirit of impatience among the ſoldiers. Victory, as always before, again declared for Cromwell, who routed the enemy with great ſlaughter, while he did not loſe, on his ſide, above forty men in all.

A. D. 1650.

Charles, who hated the Scotch army, and only dreaded Cromwell, was well enough pleaſed at this defeat. It ſerved to introduce him to a greater ſhare in the command than he was before permitted to enjoy. He therefore put himſelf at the head of that remnant which ſurvived the defeat, and ſtrengthened it with the royaliſts, who had been before excluded from his ſervice. And now, inſtead of following Cromwell, who led his victo-

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rious troops to Perth, he reſolved to ſeiſe this opportunity of penetrating into England, where he expected to be joined by numbers there ſtill attached to his intereſts. His hopes in this were fruſtrated; his army, on their march, was leſſened by continual deſertion and diſeaſe. Few volunteers repaired to the royal ſtandard; and he at length ſaw his vigilant enemy overtake him at Worceſter. Both armies fought with equal intrepidity, but Cromwell was again victorious. Never was ſo complete a victory obtained by him before. Two thouſand periſhed by the ſword, and four times that number, being taken, were ſold as ſlaves to the American planters. The conqueror became maſter of all Scotland, and ſet a price of a thouſand pounds upon the head of the king. *A. D.* 1651.

Imagination can ſcarce conceive dangers more romantic, or diſtreſſes more ſevere, than thoſe which attended the young king's eſcape from Worceſter. After his hair was cut off, the better to effect his eſcape, he worked for ſome days, diſguiſed as a peaſant, at wood-cutting. He next made an attempt to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrell, a poor but faithful com panion in his diſtreſs; but in this attempt he was diſappointed, every paſs being guarded to prevent his eſcape. Being obliged to return, he met one colonel Careleſs, who, like himſelf, had eſcaped the carnage at Worceſter; and it was in his company that he was obliged to climb a ſpreading oak, among the thick branches of which they paſſed the day together, while the ſoldiers of the enemy went underneath in purſuit of him. From thence he paſſed with imminent danger, feeling all the viciſſitudes of famine, fatigue, and pain, to the houſe

of one Mr. Lane, a worthy ſubject of his, in Staffordſhire. Here he deliberated about the means of eſcaping to France. They agreed that he ſhould ride before this gentleman's daughter on a viſit to one Mrs. Norton, who lived in the neighbourhood of Briſtol. During this journey, he every day met people whoſe perſons he knew, and once paſſed through a whole regiment of the parliament army.

When they arrived at the houſe of Mrs. Norton, the firſt perſon they ſaw was one of his own chaplains, ſitting at the door, amuſing himſelf with ſeeing people play at bowls. The king after having taken proper care of his horſe in the ſtable, was ſhewn to an apartment which Mrs. Lane had provided for him, upon pretence of indiſpoſition. The butler, being ſent to him with ſome refreſhment, no ſooner beheld his countenance, which was now very pale with anxiety and fatigue, than he recollected the viſage of his king and maſter, and, falling upon his knees, while the tears ſtreamed down his cheeks, he cried out, "I am rejoiced to "to ſee your majeſty!" The king enjoined him ſecrecy, and the honeſt ſervant punctually kept his word. Having ſtaid ſome days in this place, he repaired to the houſe of colonel Wyndham, where he was cordially received, that gentleman's family having ever been noted for loyalty. Purſuing his rout to the ſea-ſide, he once more had a very providential eſcape from the little inn at which he lodged. It happened to be a ſolemn faſt, and a fanatical weaver, who had fought in the parliament army, was preaching againſt the king, in a chapel fronting the houſe. Charles was actually one of the audience. A farrier of the ſame principles, who had been examining the horſes belonging to

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the paſſengers, came to aſſure the preacher that he knew, by the faſhion of the ſhoes, that one of the ſtrangers horſes came from the north. The preacher inſtantly affirmed, that this horſe could belong to no other than Charles Stewart, and went immediately with a conſtable to the houſe; but the king, in the mean time, found means to eſcape. Thus, at length, after inexpreſſible hardſhips, and having experienced the fidelity of forty different perſons of all ranks, who had power to betray him, he embarked at Brighthelmſted, and landed ſafely in Normandy.

Cromwell, in the mean time, returned to London in triumph, where he was met by the ſpeaker of the houſe, accompanied *Sept.* 12. by the mayor and magiſtrates in their formalities. His firſt care, upon his return, was to take the advantage of his ſucceſſes, by depreſſing the Scots. An act was paſſed for aboliſhing royalty in Scotland, and annexing it as a conquered province to the Engliſh commonwealth, impowering it, however, to ſend a certain number of repreſentatives to the Britiſh parliament. It was now ſeen with aſtoniſhment, that a parliament compoſed of obſcure and weak members could govern at once with unanimity and ſucceſs. Without any acknowledged ſubordination, they levied armies, maintained fleets, and gave laws to their neighbours. Never was England more powerful than at this period. The finances were managed with œconomy and exactneſs. No private perſon became rich by public extortions. The revenues of the crown, the lands of the biſhops, and a tax of a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds each month, ſupplied the wants of government, and invigorated all their proceedings.

Having reduced the Britiſh dominions to perfect obedience, the parliament next reſolved to chaſtiſe the Dutch, who had given but very ſlight cauſes of complaint. Doriſlaus, one of the late king's judges, being ſent thither by the commons as envoy, was aſſaſſinated by the royal party that had taken refuge there; St. John appointed Engliſh ambaſſadors, was alſo inſulted by the friends of the prince of Orange. Theſe were grounds ſufficient to incenſe the republick of England to a war. Its ſucceſs, however, was doubtful: Blake commanded the Engliſh, and Van Tromp was admiral for Holland; both equally experienced, courageous, and active. Several engagements ſerved only to ſhew the excellence of the admirals, without determining the balance of naval power. The parliament, however, was willing to continue the war, rightly judging, that, when the force of the nation was exerted by ſea, it would diminiſh Cromwell the general's power by land.

Cromwell was not behind them in penetration; he ſaw they dreaded his growing power and wiſhed to diminiſh it: all his meaſures were conducted with a bold intrepidity that marked his character; and he was now reſolved to make another daring effort. He perſuaded his officers to preſent a petition for payment of arrears and redreſs of grievances, which he knew would be rejected with diſdain. The houſe, upon receiving it, appointed a committee to prepare an act, that all perſons who preſented ſuch petitions for the future ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon. This was what Cromwell wiſhed for. He was ſitting in council with his officers, when informed of the ſubject on which the houſe was deliberating. Turning to major-general Vernon, *I am compelled*, cried he, *to do a thing that makes the very hair of my head ſtand an end*; and, ſtarting up

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with marks of violent indignation in his countenance, he haſtened to the parliament, with a body of three hundred ſoldiers. Upon entering the houſe, he took his place, and ſat ſome time to hear the debates. When the ſpeaker was about to put the queſtion, he ſuddenly roſe up, and, reviling them for their ambition and cruelty, he ſtamped with his foot, and inſtantly the houſe was filled with armed men: then addreſſing himſelf to the members, *Get you gone*, ſaid he; *give place to honeſt men*; *you are no longer a parliament*; *I tell you, you are no longer a parliament*; *the Lord has done with you!* He then accuſed one as a drunkard, another as a whoremaſter, a third of adultery, and a fourth of extortion. *It is you*, added he, *that have forced me upon this*; *I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon this work.* Then pointing to the mace, *Take away*, cried he, *that bauble!* after which, turning out all the members, he ordered the door to be locked, and, putting the key in his pocket, retired to Whitehall. Thus, by one daring exploit, the new republic was aboliſhed, and the whole power, civil and military, centered in him alone. The unſteady form of the Engliſh government at that time, is the ſtrongeſt proof of a late philoſopher's opinion, that every country is poſſeſſed of a ſet of laws and conſtitutions beſt adapted to the nature of the inhabitants, the climate, and the ſoil which when once broken through, the government muſt continue weak and unſteady, until the natural conſtitution is reſtored; as, in mechanics, all bodies continuing to waver till their center of gravity is ſupported. *A. D.* 1653.

LETTER XLV.

THAT parliament, which had long gloried in resisting violence, was now dissolved by an act of the most flagrant oppression. The people, however, expressed no dislike at their dissolution. Cromwell received congratulatory addresses from the fleet, the corporations, and the army: but he was unwilling to put forth all his power at once; he resolved to amuse them with the form of a commonwealth, and familiarize them by degrees to arbitrary government. He decreed that the sovereign power should be vested in one hundred and forty-four persons under the denomination of a parliament; and he undertook himself to make the choice. The persons he pitched upon were the lowest, meanest, and most ignorant among the citizens; he foresaw, that during the administration of such he alone must govern; or that they would soon throw up the reigns of government, which they were unqualified to guide. To excel in fanaticism seemed a necessary qualification in this new parliament. Several, with long names borrowed from scripture, were members; but a man, whose name was *Praise God Barebones*, was one of the most remarkable; and by his name the assembly was afterwards called in ridicule.

To this assembly was committed the care of making peace with the Dutch; but, being utterly unskilled in such negotiations, the ambassadors of the states were quite at a loss how to treat with them. The people exclaimed at so foolish a legislature, and they themselves seemed not insensible of the contempt and ridicule which they every

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day failed not to incur. They had now ſat five months without doing any thing of importance; when at length Rouſe, their ſpeaker, roſe up, and propoſed that, as they were unable to bear the burthen that was laid upon them, they ſhould reſign their authority to him from whom they had received it. Cromwell accepted their reſignation with pleaſure, and ſent colonel White to clear the houſe of the few fanatics who perſiſted in continuing to ſit. White, entering with a detachment of ſoldiers, aſked, *What they did there?* To which replying, that they were ſeeking the Lord, *Then you may go elſewhere*, cried he, *for to my certain knowledge, the Lord has not been here theſe many years.*

The officers now, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector. He was poſſeſſed of that which is the original of all command, namely, force; for the ſtrong ever give laws to the feeble. The mayor and aldermen were ſent for; the uſurper was inſtalled at Whitehall, in the palace of the Engliſh kings; he aſſumed the office of protector, was honoured with the epithet of highneſs, and proclaimed in London, and other parts of the kingdom. Thus an obſcure inhabitant of Wales, at length, roſe to unlimited power, far beyond that of former kings, by his courage and his hypocriſy.

He was about fifty-three years of age when he began to reign, which he did with equal conduct, moderation, and ſucceſs. He, in the beginning, choſe among the officers, the former companions of his dangers and victories, twenty-one counſellors of ſtate, to each of whom he aſſigned a penſion of one thouſand pounds a year. The troops were always paid a month in advance; the magazines were well provided; the public treaſure,

of which he had the diſpoſal, was managed with frugality and care. The Dutch were compelled to ſue for peace, and he dictated the terms. He inſiſted upon their paying deference to the Britiſh flag. They were compelled to abandon the intereſt of the king. They engaged to pay eighty-five thouſand pounds, as an indemnification for former expences; and to reſtore the Engliſh Eaſt-India company a part of thoſe dominions of which they had unjuſtly deprived them in the eaſt.

Every nation with whom the Engliſh had any connexion, now courted their protector's alliance. Among the number, France ſolicited his aid againſt Spain. Cromwell, though capable of conducting the internal parts of government, had no ſkill in foreign policy. He lent his aſſiſtance to humble Spain, at a time when the intereſts of Europe required her exaltation. Cardinal Mazarine gave him up Dunkirk. His fleet under the conduct of the famous Blake, took the iſland of Jamaica. The kingdom of Ireland was entirely reduced to obedience, and treated by him as a conquered country; many thouſands of the wretched natives ſtrove to find, in baniſhment, an alleviation of their miſeries; numbers died of famine, and by the hands of the executioner not a few.

Cromwell, to give the greater appearance of juſtice to his uſurpation, was reſolved to govern by parliament, yet by ſuch a parliament alone as he could govern. He aſſembled them, and diſſolved them, at pleaſure. The houſe of lords was entirely diſcontinued; but he ſent up a new chamber of parliament, compoſed of his own creatures, to oppoſe that elected by the voices of the people. Thus, ever active, vigilant, and reſolute, he diſcovered every conſpiracy againſt his perſon, and every inſurrection

ſurrection among the people, before they took effect. He had the addreſs to prevail upon his parliament to make him an offer of the crown, merely to have the ſeeming magnanimity of refuſing it, and thus to confirm his real power. *A. D.* 1657.

His private life was no leſs worthy our obſervation: he led an obſcure life in the palace aſſigned for his habitation, without pomp, without luxury. When he ſent his ſon Henry into Ireland, he allowed him but one ſervant in his retinue. His manners were naturally auſtere, and he preſerved the dignity and diſtance of his character in the midſt of the coarſeſt familiarity. He was cruel from policy; juſt and temperate from inclination; laborious and exact in all his deſigns; without eloquence, he had the talent of perſuading, and, without ſincerity, the art of making ſincere adherents: his dexterity equally ſatisfied every ſect; with preſbyterians, a preſbyterian; with deiſts, a deiſt; only an independent in principle. It was by theſe arts he continued his authority, firſt cemented by blood, and maintained by hypocriſy and uſurpation.

Yet notwithſtanding this conduct, which contributed to render him truly formidable at home, he was, after a few years reign, become truly miſerable to himſelf. He knew that he was deteſted by every party in the kingdom; he knew the fierce ſpirit of the people whom he had made ſlaves; and he was inceſſantly haunted by the terrors of an aſſaſſination. To increaſe his calamity, a book was publiſhed, intitled, *Killing no Murder*; in which it was proved to be juſt to deſtroy him at any rate. *Shall we*, ſaid this popular declaimer, *who would not ſuffer the lion to invade us, tamely*

ſtand to be devoured by the wolf? Cromwell read this ſpirited treatiſe, and, it is ſaid, was never ſeen to ſmile afterwards. He wore armour under his cloaths, and always kept a loaded piſtol in his pocket; his aſpect became cloudy, and he regarded every ſtranger with a glance of timid ſuſpicion. He always travelled with hurry and precipitation, and never ſlept two nights ſucceſſively in the ſame apartment. A tertian ague came at laſt to deliver him from a life of horror and miſery.

A. D. 1658. He died at Whitehall, after having nominated his ſon Richard Cromwell as his ſucceſſor. Notwithſtanding the evident approaches of death, his fanatical chaplains affirmed that he would recover, and thanked God for the undoubted aſſurances they had received of his ſafety. He was even of the ſame opinion himſelf. *I tell you*, cried he to the phyſicians that attended him, *I ſhall not die of this diſtemper: favourable anſwers have been returned from heaven, not only to my own ſupplications, but likewiſe to thoſe of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correſpondence with the Lord.* This behaviour, at his death, is an undeniable proof that he was in reality more an enthuſiaſt than an hypocrite; and, in fact, we are more frequently deceived than deceivers.

Whatever were the differences of intereſt after the death of the uſurper, the influence of his name was ſtill ſufficient to get Richard his ſon proclaimed protector. The parties, however, were now grown too headſtrong to be controuled by greater abilities; what then could Richard do, who had nothing active in his diſpoſition, no talents for buſineſs, no knowledge of government, no ambition, no importance? Oliver, by means of the army, had long governed the kingdom; they were now left

to govern alone. They firſt therefore preſented a petition to the new protector, demanding that no member of the army ſhould be ſubject to the civil power, and that the officers ſhould enjoy the privilege of chuſing their own general. Richard, ſhocked at their preſumption, rejected their requeſts, and even threatened to diſmiſs them the ſervice. The parliament attempted to ſupport theſe meaſures of Richard, but the army prevailed; the parliament was diſſolved by their menaces, and the protector again reduced to a private ſtation. The officers, once more being thus left to themſelves, determined to replace the remnant of the old parliament which had beheaded the king, and which the late protector had ſo diſgracefully diſmiſſed. This was called *The good old Cauſe*; and ſuch of the higher officers as ſeemed unwilling to give up their authority to this parliament, were intimidated by their ſubalterns into a compliance.

The Rump parliament, as it was called, being thus once again eſtabliſhed, began by vigorouſly attempting to leſſen the power of that very army which had juſt now given them all their authority. They new-modelled a part of the forces, caſhiered ſuch officers as they feared, and placed others in their room. Theſe attempts, however, did not paſs without vigorous efforts in the principal officers who were at London to oppoſe them. They held ſeveral conferences together to ſtrengthen their power, and leſſen that of their oppoſers. They at length came to the uſual reſource of theſe turbulent times: they firſt preſented a ſeditious petition, and, upon finding it rejected, conducted by general Lambert, they entered the houſe, excluded the members, diſſolved the parliament by their own authority, and formed a council of ten

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to provide for the ſafety of the commonwealth. During theſe tranſactions, general Monck was at the head of twelve thouſand veterans in Scotland. This general had begun his fortunes under the command of the late king, and was taken priſoner in his ſervice. Upon the death of his maſter, he was releaſed from his long confinement to command under Cromwell, for whom he always fought with conduct and ſucceſs.

In this anarchy and confuſion he ſeemed agitated by different deſigns, between loyalty to his lawful king, ambition to advance himſelf, and the apprehenſions he was under from the governing part of the nation: his loyalty at length prevailed; he reſolved to reſtore the royal family, but to uſe all the precautions that were requiſite for their ſafety and his own. He ſoon had an opportunity of embarraſſing the affairs of the nation ſtill more, to prepare the way for the meditated revolution. The officers, now formed into a council of ten, had ſent to treat with him: he conſented to a negotiation only in order to gain time; and, after a treaty had been actually ſigned by thoſe he employed in this buſineſs, he refuſed to ratify it upon frivolous pretences. The depoſed parliament, finding that Monck had diſapproved of the proceedings of the officers at London, were reſolved to avail themſelves of his friendſhip, in order to be reinſtated in their former authority; and ſent him a private commiſſion, appointing him commander in chief of all the forces in England, Scotlond, and Ireland. He now therefore reſolved to march towards London, and, upon his approach, the officers who had depoſed the parliament found themſelves almoſt deſerted, and at length compelled to reſign the authority they had uſurped. When he

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reached St. Alban's, he ſent a letter to the houſe, deſiring that London ſhould be cleared of all other troops to make way for his approach. This demand awakened the ſuſpicion of the parliament, but they were reluctantly obliged to comply. He entered London in triumph at the head of his army, and repaired to the council of ſtate, but refuſed to take the oath of abjuration, ſhrewdly obſerving, that the fewer oaths were taken, the cleaner would the conſcience be. He next examined his officers, and, having ſecured their concurrence, he reſtored thoſe members to the parliament which long ſince had been ſecluded before the trial of the king.

The independents, who had voted for the trial of Charles, were now greatly out-numbered; and it was ſoon ſeen that the royal party was likely to prevail. The republicans, who, though they hated a protector, ſtill more feared the royal reſentment, endeavoured to perſuade Monck to aſſume the ſovereign power, in imitation of Cromwell. He rejected their advice, and in the mean time gave the king private intimations of his deſigns, new-modelled the army, quelled an incipient inſurrection, and prepared all things for his reſtoration.

Nothing now was wanting, but the authority and conſent of a free parliament, to ſettle the fluctuating conſtitution. *A. D.* 1659.

On the twenty-fifth of April, 1660, the new parliament met in both houſes, after the manner of their anceſtors. They immediately voted that the government ought to be veſted in a king, lords, and commons. On the eighth of May Charles II. was proclaimed in London; on the twenty ſixth he arrived at Dover; on the twenty ninth he paſſed

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on to Whitehall, through an innumerable multitude of people, who rent the air with their acclamations. The wretched kingdom, long torn with faction, and oppreſſed by its own ſtruggles for freedom, once more began to reſpire; fanaticiſm, with all its train of melancholy terrors and cruelties, was now diſpelled; the arts of peace began to return; but unhappily, the arts of luxury entered in their train.

LETTER XLVI.

IT will undoubtedly aſtoniſh poſterity, when they find a whole nation making theſe ſudden changes from abſolute liberty to the moſt ſubmiſſive obedience; at one time almoſt unanimouſly declaring againſt monarchy, and ſoon after, with the moſt unbounded flattery, ſoliciting the ſhackles of arbitrary power. The parliament, which had before ſo vehemently oppoſed the late monarch, poſſeſſed of every virtue, were now profuſe in their ſubmiſſions to his ſucceſſor, whoſe character ſtood in no competition with that of his father.

A. D. 1660.

They firſt ordained, that the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradſhaw, ſhould be dug from their graves, and dragged to the place of execution; there to continue hanging the whole day, and then to be interred under the gallows. Of thoſe who ſat in judgment on the late monarch's trial, ſome were dead, and ſome were thought worthy to find pardon; ten only out of fourſcore were devoted to immediate deſtruction. Theſe were enthuſiaſts, who had all along acted from principle, and bore their fate with all the confidence of martyrs. They had

had been formerly cruel themſelves, and they were now in turn treated with ſhocking inhumanity: the executioner, not content with performing the office of death, added inſult to their tortures; the ſufferers, to a man, thanked God for being permitted to die for his cauſe, and braved the fury of their oppreſſors with manly contempt. *A. D.* 1662.

Their deaths ſeemed to inſpire a few deſperate enthuſiaſts with the moſt ſtrange confidence that ever deluded a poor ignorant party. One Venner, who expected the immediate coming of Chriſt upon earth, appeared in the ſtreets of London in arms, at the head of threeſcore enthuſiaſts like himſelf, and declared againſt any other monarch but king Jeſus. They had been wrought into ſuch a pitch of phrenzy as to believe themſelves invulnerable, and fought as men confident of victory. The few ſurvivers of their defeat were taken, tried, condemned, and executed: they affirmed to the laſt, that, if they had been deceived, the Lord himſelf concurred in the impoſture.

It was now feared that the tide of loyalty would bear down all the former mounds of freedom; the parliament ſeemed to concur in all the deſigns of the court, and even to anticipate its wiſhes. But though the king was eſtabliſhed, his old faithful friends, and the followers of his family, were left unrewarded. There were numbers who had fought for his father, and for him, and had loſt their all in his ſervice, ſtill pining in want and miſery; while their perſecutors, who, profiting by the troubles of their country, had acquired fortunes during the civil war, were ſtill permitted to enjoy them without moleſtation. The ſufferers petitioned in vain: Charles was no way remarkable for

gratitude

gratitude; his pleaſures, his flatterers, and concubines, engroſſed all his attention, and exhauſted his finances: the unhappy cavaliers murmured without redreſs; he fled from their gloomy expoſtulations to ſcenes of mirth, riot, and feſtivity.

The kingdom now ſeemed to be converted into a theatre of debauchery, which had before been a ſcene of blood. The independents were no longer to be ſeen; the puritans were reſtrained; the horrors of the late war were the ſubject of ridicule; the formality and the ignorance of ſectaries were diſplayed upon the ſtage, and even laughed at in the pulpit. The king had no religion; and, though he permitted the perſecution of ſectaries, it was merely from political motives. The late miſeries of the nation were not ſufficient to deter a few deſperate fanatics from attempting to excite them afreſh; they laid a ſcheme for ſurpriſing ſeveral towns in the north, and raiſing a general inſurrection. The miniſtry diſcovered the plot before it was ripe for execution: thirty of the conſpirators were taken and executed; and this plot was a pretext for continuing the parliament then ſitting, and repealing the act for triennial parliaments, as being dangerous in times of commotion.

The Engliſh parliament ſeemed willing to make the king reparation for their former diſobedience, and the Scots were ſtill more ſanguine in the expreſſions of their attachment. Had Charles been on active monarch, he might have now become an abſolute one. They confirmed the doctrine of paſſive obedience by a ſolemn act; they aſſigned him a revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds, excluſive of the expence neceſſary for fitting and ſupplying the fleet. None of his predeceſſors were

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ever poſſeſſed of ſuch a large revenue; nevertheleſs, his prodigality rendered him indigent, and, inſtead of deſiring an aſcendancy over his parliament, he was content to be an humble and continual dependent on their bounty.

His prodigality, his libertiniſm, and the familiarity with which he permitted himſelf to be treated by his ſubjects, ſoon began to alter their ſentiments from a veneration for royalty to a contempt of his perſon and adminiſtration. He declared war againſt Holland, merely to *A. D.* 1662.
have an opportunity of ſpending upon his pleaſures of a part of thoſe ſums granted him by parliament for the ſupport of a fleet and army. This war was carried on with doubtful ſucceſs; but the alarm which the nation received from Ruyter the Dutch admiral's attempting to ſail up the river Thames, ſtill more diſguſted them againſt their governor. Immediate dangers, though ſmall, influence the mind with greater force than diſtant, though terrible calamities. They now called to mind the adminiſtration of Cromwell, when the people enjoyed ſecurity at home, and were reſpected abroad: they recollected that uſurper's vigorous labours for the good of the nation, and compared them with thoſe of the preſent effeminate and unſucceſsful reign.

Natural and accidental calamities ſeemed to unite themſelves to thoſe brought on by bad management. A plague ravaged London, which ſwept away more than one hundred thouſand of its inhabitants; and ſoon after the city was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by a conflagration, which rag- *A. D.* 1666.
ed for three days without intermiſſion.
The ſpirit of the people ſoon ſumounted theſe calamities; London ſoon roſe more beautiful from its

its aſhes; the ſtreets were built anew more ſpacious and convenient than before; and their diſtreſs ſoon became their advantage.

But neither war, nor accident, nor the murmurs of the people could abate the paſſion of gallantry, pleaſure, and expence, that reigned in the court through the king's example. He had imbibed all that ſpirit of levity, during his reſidence in France, for which that kingdom is remarkable. Though he had been married ſoon after his reſtoration to the infanta of Portugal, he kept ſeveral miſtreſſes, by whom he had natural iſſue. Among this number were mademoiſelle Querouaille, a French woman, whom he created ducheſs of Portſmouth; Mrs. Palmer, whom he made a counteſs; and Nel Gwyn and Mrs. Davis, actreſſes taken from the theatre.

But, though the court was thus loſt to decency, the paſſion for uniformity in religion in the nation ſeemed to revive. The parliament was equally ſet againſt the preſbyterians and the papiſts; an act was made called the *Teſt Act*, importing, that every perſon in office and employment ſhould take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, receive the ſacrament in ſome pariſh church before competent witneſſes, and ſubſcribe a declaration, renouncing the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. This was leveled againſt the duke of York, the king's brother, who had profeſſed himſelf a papiſt, and whom the parliament ſecretly aimed at excluding from the throne. The fears and diſcontents of the nation were vented without reſtraint: the apprehenſions of a popiſh ſucceſſor, an abandoned court, a parliament that had continued, without a new election, for ſeven years; an alliance cemented with France,

A. D. 1673.

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the ſecret enemy of England and the proteſtant religion; and an unſucceſsful and expenſive war with Holland, their natural allies; all gave cauſe to kindle a ſpirit of indignation among the people. The court tried every method, but in vain, to ſatisfy theſe murmurs, or appeaſe them. Even the coffee-houſes were ſuppreſſed, where ſuch topics were generally debated.

This univerſal ferment, as may eaſily be imagined, broke out into an alarm. When the ſpirit of the Engliſh is once excited, they either find objects of reſentment, or they make them. The rumour of a popiſh conſpiracy was firſt propagated, and one Titus Oates ſoon appeared to give it confirmation. Titus Oates had been from his youth an indigent and infamous adventurer. He was abandoned, illiterate, and ſhameleſs. He had been once indicted for perjury, afterwards chaplain of a man of war, and diſmiſſed for unnatural practices. He then profeſſed himſelf a Roman catholic, went to the jeſuits college at St Omer, but was diſmiſſed after ſome reſidence there, with infamy. He then returned to London, filled with projects of revenge; and the animoſities of this unhappy nation ſoon appeared a proper place of nouriſhment to give this viper's virulence effect. He depoſed upon oath, that the jeſuits, ſeveral of whom he named, and who were ſoon after taken up, had tried the king under the name of the *Black Baſtard*, condemned him as an heretic, and reſolved to deprive him of life; that ſeveral attempts had been made without ſucceſs; and that not only the king's brother, but even the queen, were privy to the deſign. The houſe of commons immediately took fire at this pretended conſpiracy: they petitioned for removing the

A. D. 1678.

the queen, rewarded Oates with a penſion of twelve hundred pounds, and immediately ordered the conſpirators to be tried in the courts of juſtice. Several jeſuits were tried; their very profeſſion was at that time ſufficient to deſtroy them: before a partial judge and an exaſperated jury, no mercy could be expected, and ſeveral, though apparently innocent, were executed as traitors upon this miſcreant's information. Coleman, the duke of York's ſecretary, Ireland, Pickering, Grove, Fenwick, and Whitebread, were among the firſt that fell; they died declaring their innocence to the laſt moment of their lives.

A. D. 1679.

While the proteſtants were labouring to humble both the puritans and the papiſts, theſe two parties were at the ſame time mutually employed in ruining each other. Plot was ſet againſt plot; that contrived by Oates was called the *Jeſuits Plot*; that ſet to oppoſe it was called by the name of the *Meal-tub plot*, as the ſcheme of the conſpiracy was found hidden in a meal-tub. This was a deſign againſt Oates; for his perjuries had drawn upon him the furions reſentment of the catholic party: they were determined to take away his life, by the ſame falſe evidence by which he had taken the lives of ſo many of their fraternity.

Of all theſe plots tending to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, it is ſaid the earl of Shafteſbury was at the bottom: he had been a member of the long parliament in the civil wars, and had gained great influence among the preſbyterians; he had inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Cromwell, and afterwards employed his credit in forwarding the reſtoration; he had been made one of the privy-council in the preſent reign, but was ejected thence for the duplicity of his conduct; he

he was poſſeſſed of uncommon abilities, joined with turbulence, diſſimulation, and unbounded ambition. It was thought that this nobleman, in revenge for his diſgrace at court, headed the demagogue faction, and alarmed the king with unceaſing dangers.

He artfully increaſed the people's apprehenſions of a popiſh ſucceſſor, and by his intereſt, brought a bill into the houſe of commons for the excluſion of James duke of York from the ſucceſſion. In the national animoſity raiſed againſt papiſts, it was no difficult matter to have is paſſed through the houſe of commons; but, being preſented to the houſe of peers, it was thrown out by a great majority.

The commons were greatly incenſed at this repulſe, but particularly their anger fell upon the earl of Halifax, who exerted himſelf in the oppoſition. Halifax diſregarded their anger, ſecure in conſcious innocence. But their rage fell with more weight upon lord Stafford, who had long been a priſoner in the Tower, upon the depoſition of Oates. Notwithſtanding his age, his weak intellects, and the juſtneſs of his defence, he was arraigned, condemned, and executed for a plot which had its only foundation in perjury and ſubornation. All things threatened a renewal of the former troubles from which the kingdom had been but lately ſet free. The commons preſented petition after petition to the king, deſiring the puniſhment of papiſts, and the abridgement of the royal prerogative. *A. D.* 1680.

They ſeemed willing intimidate the king, or to inflame the nation. At length Charles ſhewed a degree of fortitude that ſurpriſed even his friends; he rejected their petitions with contempt, and

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diſſolved the parliament that had abuſe their power.

The ſtate of the nation at that time, with regard to religion, was thus: The principal men at court, if they profeſſed any, were of the eſtabliſhed church; ſo were all the men of great property, as well as the dregs of the people; but that body of men who voted at elections, placed between a ſtate of opulence and penury, were in general preſbyterians: they were, therefore, willing to return repreſentatives only of that perſuaſion.

Charles, however, was reſolved to try one parliament more, and appointed them to meet him at Oxford, the city of London having long been diſpleaſing, by reaſon of their republican principles. The now parliament, however, ſeemed ſtill more turbulent than the former; the members came armed, and attended by their friends and adherents, as if they expected to fight, and not to deliberate: the repreſentatives of London were, in particular, attended by a numerous body of horſemen, wearing cockades, inſcribed, *No Popery! No Slavery!* To declaim againſt popery, was the voice of faction in the laſt reign, and ſuch it was in the preſent. The ſame ſpirit that had animated the former parliament, ſeemed redoubled in this. They inſiſted on the bill for excluding the duke of York from the ſucceſſion; they perſiſted in declaring that all papiſts ſhould be baniſhed, and their children educated in the proteſtant religion; that the doctrine of paſſive obedience was injurious to the rights of ſociety. In a word, the leaders of the oppoſition were reſolved to be diſpleaſed with every meaſure the king could propoſe, and prepared to recal the former ariſtocracy into the kingdom. Charles, ſeeing that nothing could

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be expected from counſels managed by party, and not deliberation, once more diſſolved this parliament, with a ſtedfaſt reſolution of never calling another.

This was a ſtroke they had never expected, and which the times alone could juſtify. From the moment the royal and parliamentary commotions were ended, Charles ſeemed to rule with deſpotic power, and was reſolved to leave to his ſucceſſor the faults and the misfortunes of his adminiſtration. His temper, which had been always eaſy and merciful, became arbitrary, and even cruel; he entertained ſpies and informers round the throne, and impriſoned all ſuch as he thought moſt daring in their deſigns. He reſolved to humble the preſbyterians; theſe were diveſted of their employments, and their places filled with ſuch as approved the doctrine of non-reſiſtance. The clergy teſtified their zeal to the court by their writings and ſermons. The partizans of the king were moſt numerous, but thoſe of the oppoſite faction were moſt enterpriſing: the mutual animoſity of each was inflamed into rage and rancour, and the king openly declared himſelf at the head of a faction. The city of London particularly fell under his reſentment; he deprived them of their charter, and only reſtored it when he had ſubjected the election of the magiſtrates to his immediate authority.

Such an arbitrary adminiſtration could not fail of exciting new inſurrections. Several noblemen, among whom were the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural ſon, the lords Shafteſbury, Ruſſel, Grey, and others, entered into a combination to deſtroy the king, which was called afterwards the *Ryehouſe Plot*. The conſpirators met at the houſe of one Shepherd, a wine-merchant, *A. D.* 1683.

where they promiſed a riſing in London, Briſtol, Devonſhire, and Cheſhire. They agreed upon a declaration for juſtifying their deſign; but the ſcheme was at firſt delayed from the difficulty of the preparations previous to taking the field, and ſoon after diſcovered by one Keiling, who expected to earn a pardon for himſelf by impeaching his aſſociates. As the plot began to open, new informers came in; Monmouth abſconded, Grey eſcaped the meſſenger, who had been ſent to arreſt him, Ruſſel was committed to the Tower, and Shafteſbury, who foreſaw the danger, had taken refuge in Holland. Lord Eſſex, Sidney, the famous legiſlator, and Hampden, grandſon to him of that name who refuſed to pay the tax of ſhip-money, were informed againſt, and committed to confinement.

The principal informer upon this occaſion was lord Howard, a man every way debauched, and who was willing to accept infamy for ſafety: by his evidence Ruſſel and Sidney were condemned, and died with that intrepidity which was worthy a better cauſe. While theſe men were thus executed, Monmouth was in the mean time ſoliciting his pardon; and he who was moſt culpable, as his crime was moſt unnatural, eaſily obtained it.

The ſeverities exerciſed in the latter part of this reign aroſe merely from the influence of the duke of York, who was as much inclined to cruelty by nature, as his brother Charles was prone to forgiveneſs. His authority was become terrible even to the miniſtry: by his advice the king ſeiſed upon all the charters of the corporations, in order to extort money for having them renewed. Partiality and oppreſſion were the inſtruments of his power, and bigotry and innovation the objects of his

his wiſh. At this period the reign of Charles was as abſolute as that of any monarch in chriſtendom, and new diſcontents and treaſons were ſecretly diffuſing their poiſon, while the ſpirit of liberty ſtill ſtruggled hard againſt the ſpirit of obedience, which the clergy attempted to inculcate. Another civil war threatened the nation, ſtill more dreadful than the former, as the forces were more equally divided: but Charles happily died before thoſe calamities could return; he was ſuddenly ſeiſed with an apoplectic fit, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. The people though they deſpiſed his adminiſtration, loved his perſon; they were willing to bear with the faults of the one, whoſe whole behaviour was a continued inſtance of good nature and affability: but they were by no means willing to grant the ſame indulgence to his ſucceſſor, whom they hated for his pride, his religion, his cruelty, and connections. He was unfit to walk in the irregular ſteps of his predeceſſor; and, when he purſued the ſame rout, fatal experience ſoon convinced him, that he had at once miſtaken himſelf and the people he attempted to command.

But, though England, during the reign of Charles, ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, agitated like the ocean after a ſtorm, yet commerce continued to increaſe with its uſual celerity and ſucceſs. The manufacture of certain ſtuffs, glaſs, copper, ſteel, paper, hats, and ſtockings, was now brought to perfection. Upon the baniſhing the proteſtants from France, numbers came and ſettled here, and brought their arts with them. This application to arts and commerce gave England great weight in the balance of Europe; Britain became the center of politics and arms. Though literature was but

little encouraged by the ſovereign, yet the learned made great proficiency in every department of ſcience; and the philoſophers of England began to take the lead. Newton, Tillotſon, Burnet, Hobbes, and Shafteſbury, enlarged the land-marks of human knowledge; Butler, Dryden, Otway, gave ſtrength and propriety to the language. In a word, the character of the nation now began to alter; the natural rudeneſs of the inhabitants began to take a poliſh from good breeding, and Britiſh ferocity to meliorate into ſocial politeneſs.

LETTER XLVII.

AS we deſcend, we find the materials for Engliſh hiſtory increaſe: the minuteſt tranſactions are recorded with prolixity; and theſe, however dry and unimproving to ſome, are yet both intereſting and ſatisfactory to others. In ſuch a profuſion of materials I muſt be content rather to give the ſpirit of the following reigns, than pretend to exhibit an hiſtorical detail of particular intereſts and intrigues. It will be enough to mark thoſe ſtrong outlines that may probably eſcape the wreck of time, when the internal colouring ſhall fade. As hiſtory increaſes in time by the addition of new events, an epitome becomes more neceſſary to abridge its excreſcences.

The duke of York, who ſucceeded his brother, with the title of king James the ſecond, had been bred a papiſt, and was ſtrongly bigotted to his principles. It is the property of that religion, almoſt ever, to contract the ſphere of the underſtanding; and, until people are, in ſome meaſure, diſengaged from its prejudices,

A. D. 1684.

prejudices, it is impoſſible to lay a juſt claim to extenſive views, or conſiſtency of deſign. The intellects of this prince were naturally weak, and his bigotted principles ſtill rendered them more feeble: he conceived the ridiculous project of reigning in the arbitrary manner of his predeceſſor, and changing the eſtabliſhed religion of his country, at a time when his perſon was hated, and the eſtabliſhed religion was univerſally approved.

The people of England were now entirely changed from what they had been in the times of Henry, Mary, and Elizabeth, who had altered religion at will. Learning was now as much cultivated by the laity as by the prieſthood; every man now pretended to think for himſelf, and had rational grounds for his opinion. In the beginning of the reformation the monarchs had only to bring over the clergy, in order totally to change the modes of belief; for the people were entirely guided by their paſtors. To influence the prieſthood was an eaſy taſk: the hopes of preferment, or the fears of degradation, entirely ſubjected the conſciences of the clergy to the royal will. Such it was then: but the circumſtances of the nation were, at preſent, entirely altered; and to make a change in religion, it would have been neceſſary to tamper with every individual in the ſtate. But James had no idea of the alteration of circumſtances; his ſituation, he thought, ſupplied him with authority, and his zeal furniſhed him with hope of accompliſhing this chimerical deſign.

The ſucceſs he met with in cruſhing a rebellion; in the opening of his reign, ſeemed to promiſe a favourable omen towards the completion of his wiſhes. The duke of Monmouth, who had long

been at the head of faction, and inflamed all the discontent that molested the late king's reign, was now resolved to aim at the crown. He was the darling of the people; and some averred that the king had married his mother, and owned his legitimacy at his death. The earl of Argyll seconded his views, and they formed the scheme of a double insurrection. Argyll first landed in Scotland, published his manifestoes, put himself at the head of two thousand five hundred men, and attempted to influence the nation; but a formidable body of the king's forces coming against him, his army fell away, and he himself, after being wounded in attempting to escape, was taken by a peasant, standing up to his neck in water. Being brought to Edinburgh, he prepared for his death, well knowing that it was not in the king's nature to forgive an enemy.

A. D. 1685.

The duke of Monmouth was not more fortunate: he sailed from the Texel with three vessels, and arrived on the coasts of Dorsetshire with about fourscore followers. The country soon flocked in to his standard, and in two days his army was increased to two thousand men. The earl of Feversham was sent to oppose him, and took post at Sedgemore, a village in Somersetshire. Monmouth resolved to fight him; and began his march about eleven in the night, with profound silence; but the royalists were prepared for his reception. the action began at day-break. Lord Grey, who commanded the duke of Monmouth's horse, was routed at the first onset. The duke at the head of his infantry, bravely maintained his ground, until he was charged in flank by the enemy's horse, who had been just now victorious. A total rout ensued; three hundred were killed in the engagement,

ment, and a thouſand in purſuit. The duke eſcaped the carnage, and, in a ſhepherd's diſguiſe, fled on foot, attended by a faithful companion, who had followed his fortunes into England. Thus they travelled onward towards Dorſetſhire, till, quite exhauſted with hunger and fatigue, they lay down in a field, and covered themſelves with ſtubble. In this forlorn ſituation he has found, with ſome peaſe in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to ſuſtain life. His ſpirit ſunk with his misfortunes; he wrote to the king; implored his mercy. The king gave him an audience, as if willing to ſatisfy his vengeance with the ſight of a rival's miſery; but his death was determined, and no intreaties could extort royal clemency. On the ſcaffold he reſumed his former courage, handled the ax, declared that he meant well to the nation, and his head was cut off, but not till after the third blow.

But it were happy for the nation, and fortunate for the king, if the blood that was already ſhed had been thought a ſufficient expiation for the late offence. The victorious army behaved with the moſt ſavage cruelty to the priſoners taken after the battle. Their inhumanity was properly ſeconded by Jefferies, who was ſent on the weſtern circuit to try the inſurgents. His furious thirſt of blood being inflamed by continual intoxication, he threatened, calumniated, and threw aſide every appearance of clemency. Men and women indiſcriminately felt the effects of his ſavage zeal; and not leſs than two hundred and fifty perſons expired under circumſtances of wanton cruelty. Cruel kings ever find cruel miniſters.

It was not to be expected, that theſe butcheries could acquire the king the love or the confidence

of his people, or tend to alter their opinions, as they rather excited the ſecret abhorrence of every honeſt man; yet he thought this a time favourable for the carrying on his ſcheme of religion and arbitrary government. An attempt at arbitrary power in Charles was, in ſome meaſure, excuſable, as he had a republican faction to oppoſe; and it might have been prudent at that time to overſtep juſtice, in order to attain ſecurity: but the ſame deſigns in James were as unneceſſary as impracticable, ſince there were few republicans remaining, and the people were ſatisfied with limited monarchy. But this weak and deluded monarch was reſolved to imitate one or two princes of Europe, who had juſt before rendered themſelves abſolute; and he was incited to this project by Lewis XIV. who ſecretly deſired his deſtruction. Thus inſtigated, he began his deſigns with the meaſures which he ſhould not have uſed till their completion. He ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to Rome, to acknowledge his obedience to the pope. Innocent, who then filled the chair, was too good a politician to approve of ſuch childiſh meaſures, and gave his ambaſſador a very cool reception. He was ſenſible that the king was openly ſtriking at thoſe laws and opinions, which it was his buſineſs to undermine in ſilence and ſecurity. The cardinals were even heard facetiouſly to declare, *that the king ſhould be excommunicated for thus endeavouring to overturn the ſmall remains of popery that ſtill ſubſiſted in England.*

James notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements was yet reſolved to proſecute his favourite ſcheme with vigour. Upon every occaſion the catholics ſhared his confidence and favour. Hugh Peters, his confeſſor, ruled his conſcience, and drove him blindly

blindly forward to attempt innovation. He became every day more and more ambitious of making converts; the earl of Sunderland ſacrificed his religion to his ambition; the earl of Rocheſter loſt his employment of treaſurer, for refuſing to alter his religion. The king ſtooped ſo low as to his officers: a rough ſoldier one day anſwered his remonſtrances by ſaying he was pre-engaged, for he had promiſed the king of Morocco, when he was quartered at Tangiers, that, ſhould he ever change his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

An eccleſiaſtical court was erected with power to puniſh all delinquents, or ſuch ſo reputed by the court, with all manner of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. The vice-chancellor of Cambridge was ſummoned before this court for having refuſed to admit one Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of maſter of arts: the vice-chancellor was deprived of his office, but the univerſity perſiſted in their refuſal, and the king thought proper to deſiſt from his purpoſe. The vice-preſident and fellows of Magdalen college in Oxford were treated with more ſeverity. They refuſed to admit one Farmer, a new convert, and one of a profligate life, who was nominated by the king to the place of preſident, now become vacant. The king next nominated Parker, biſhop of Oxford; but he was equally obnoxious for the ſame reaſons. The king repaired in perſon to Oxford: he reproached the fellows with inſolence and diſobedience; but neither he, nor his miniſters, could prevail to alter the reſolutions of this ſociety. The fellows were expelled by his order, and their places filled with papiſts, who he knew would be more obedient to his commands. *A. D.* 1686.

His deſigns hitherto were ſufficiently manifeſt;

but he was now resolved entirely to throw off the mask. By his permission the pope's nuncio made his public entry into Windsor in his pontificals, preceded by the cross, and attended by a great number of monks, in the habit of their respective orders. He next published a declaration for liberty of conscience, by which all restraints upon popery were taken away. The church of England took the alarm. The peculiar animosity of the people against the catholic religion proceeded not less from religion than temporal motives. It is the spirit of that religion to favour arbitrary power, and its reproach to encourage persecution. The English had too often smarted under both, to be willing again to submit to either. Seven bishops, who had received the king's express orders to cause this declaration of liberty of conscience to be read in their churches, refused to comply. They drew up a modest petition to excuse their refusal, which only served to increase the king's resentment and rage. They were cited before the council, and still adhered to their former resolution with that firmness which is the characteristic of virtue. The attorney-general was ordered to prosecute them for publishing sedition, and abridging the king's prerogative. They were committed prisoners to the Tower, conducted thither amidst the prayers and condolence of an incredible multitude of the populace, who regarded them as sufferers for truth. The day appointed for their trial arrived. The cause was looked upon as the crisis of English freedom. The council managed the debate on both sides with learning and candour: the jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the whole night, but next morning returned into court, and declared the bishops

A. D. 1687.

not

not guilty. The joy of the people, on this occaſion, was inexpreſſible: the whole city, and the country around, ſeemed at once to catch the ſhouts of exultation; they even reached the camp, where the king was then ſitting at dinner, who heard them with indignation and amazement.

If the biſhops teſtified the readineſs of martyrs in ſupport of their religion, James ſhewed no leſs obſtinacy in his attempts towards the eſtabliſhment of his own. Finding the clergy adverſe to his deſigns, he next tried what he could do with the army. He thought, if one regiment would promiſe implicit obedience, their example would ſoon induce others to the ſame compliance. He ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his preſence, and deſired that ſuch as were againſt his late declaration of liberty ſhould lay down their arms. He was ſurpriſed to ſee the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers and a few Roman catholic ſoldiers.

Oppoſition only ſerved to increaſe the infatuated monarch's zeal; he was continually ſtimulated by his queen and his prieſts to proceed raſhly onward. But he was particularly urged on by the Jeſuit Peters, his confeſſor, an ambitious and intriguing prieſt, whom ſome hiſtorians have even accuſed of being the creature of the prince of Orange, the king's ſon-in law, who had long ſince conceived hopes of ſeiſing the crown. James now, therefore, iſſued orders for proſecuting all thoſe clergymen who had forborne to read his declaration. He placed one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, at the head of Magdalen-college, and likewiſe nominated him to the ſee of Oxford, lately become vacant. Every member of the church of England now ſaw their danger; and

whigs and tories united their efforts to oppoſe it.

William, prince of Orange, had married Mary the daughter of king James. This prince had been early immerſed in danger, calamities, and politics; the deſigns of France, and the turbulence of Holland, had ſerved to ſharpen his talents, and given him a propenſity for intrigue. This great politician and ſoldier concealed, beneath a phlegmatic appearance, a moſt violent and boundleſs ambition; all his actions were levelled at power, while his diſcourſe never betrayed the wiſhes of his heart. His temper was cold and ſevere, his genius active and piercing; he was valiant without oſtentation, and politic without addreſs; diſdaining the pleaſures, or the elegancies of life, yet eager after the phantom of pre-eminence. He was no ſtranger to the murmurs of the Engliſh, and was reſolved to turn them to his intereſt: he therefore accepted the invitations of the nobility and others, and ſtill more willingly embarked in the cauſe, as he found the male-contents had concerted their meaſures with prudence and ſecrecy.

A fleet was equipped ſufficient to tranſport fifteen thouſand troops; and it was at firſt given out that this armament was deſigned againſt France. James, at length, began to ſee his own errors and the diſcontents of the people: he would now have retracted his meaſures in favour of popery, but it was too late; the fleet of the prince was already ſailed, and had landed thirteen thouſand troops at the village of Broxholme, in Torbay.

The expectations of the prince of Orange ſeemed, at firſt, to be fruſtrated; very few Engliſhmen offered him their ſervices, though the people were, in general, well affected to his deſign. Slight repulſes

pulſes were not ſufficient to intimidate a general who had, from early youth, encountered adverſity: he continued ten days in expectation of being joined with the malecontents without ſucceſs; but, juſt when he began to deliberate about reimbarking his forces, he was joined by ſeveral perſons of conſequence, and the country-people came flocking to his ſtandard. From this day his numbers began to increaſe; the nobility, which had compoſed the court and council of king James, now left their old maſter to ſolicit protection from the new.

Lewis XIV. had long foreſeen this defection, and had formerly offered the king thirty thouſand men for his ſecurity. This was then refuſed by James, by the advice of Sunderland, his favourite, who was ſecretly in the intereſt of the prince of Orange. James, however, now requeſted aſſiſtance from France, when it was too late. He wrote in vain to Leopold, emperor of Germany, who only returned for anſwer, that what he had foreſeen had happened. He had ſome dependence on his fleet, but they were entirely diſaffected. In a word, his intereſts were deſerted by all; for he had long deſerted them himſelf. He was at the head of an army of twenty thouſand men, and it is poſſible, that, had he led them to the combat without granting them time for deliberation, they might have fought in his favour: but he was involved in a maze of fears and ſuſpicions; the defection of thoſe he moſt confided in took away his power of deliberation, and his perplexity was increaſed, when told that the prince of Denmark and Anne, his favourite daughter, had gone over to the prince of Orange. In this exigence he could not repreſs his tears, and in the agony of his

heart

heart was heard to exclaim, *God help me, my own children have forſaken me!*

He now hung over the precipice of deſtruction! invaded by one ſon-in-law, abandoned by another, hated by his ſubjects, and deteſted by thoſe who had ſuffered beneath his cruelty. He aſſembled the few noblemen who ſtill adhered to his intereſts, and demanded their advice and aſſiſtance. Addreſſing himſelf to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Ruſſel, who was beheaded by James's intrigues in the preceding reign, *My lord*, ſaid he, *you are an honeſt man, have great credit, and can do me ſignal ſervice. Ah, Sir*, replied the earl, *I am old and feeble, I can do you but little ſervice; but I once had a ſon that could have aſſiſted you, but he is no more.* James was ſo ſtruck with this reply, that he could not ſpeak for ſome minutes.

The king was naturally timid; and ſome counſellors about him, either ſharing his fears, or bribed by the prince, contributed to increaſe his apprehenſions. They reminded him of the fate of Charles I. and aggravated the turbulence of the people. He was, at length, perſuaded to think of flying from a nation he could no longer govern, and of taking refuge at the court of France, where he was ſure of finding aſſiſtance and protection. Thus inſtructed, he firſt ſent away his queen, who arrived ſafely at Calais; and ſoon after, diſguiſing himſelf in a plain dreſs, he went down to Feverſham, and embarked on board a ſmall veſſel for France. But his misfortunes ſtill continued to follow him; the veſſel was detained by the common people, who, not knowing their ſovereign, robbed, inſulted, and abuſed him. He was now perſuaded by the earl of Winchelſea to return to

London,

London, where he was once more received amidſt the acclamations of the people.

The return of James was by no means agreeable to William, though he well knew how to diſſemble. It was his intereſt and his deſign to increaſe the forſaken monarch's apprehenſions, ſo as to induce him to fly. He therefore received the news of his return with a haughty air, and ordered him to leave Whitehall, and to retire to Richmond. The king remonſtrated againſt Richmond, and deſired that Rocheſter might be appointed as the place of his abode. The prince perceived his intention was to leave the kingdom; nor did one wiſh for flight more ardently than the other deſired him away. The king ſoon concurred with his deſigns: after ſtaying but a ſhort time at Rocheſter, he fled to the ſea-ſide, attended by his natural ſon the duke of Berwick, where he embarked for France, and arrived in ſafety, to enjoy, for the reſt of life, the empty title of a king, and the appellation of a ſaint, a title which ſtill flattered him more. There he continued to reſide among a people who pitied, ridiculed, and deſpiſed him. He enrolled himſelf in the order of Jeſuits; and the court of Rome, for whom he had loſt all, repaid him only with indulgences and paſquinades.

From this moment the conſtitution of England, that had fluctuated for ſo many ages, was fixed. The nation, repreſented by its parliament, determined the long conteſted limits between the king and the people: they preſcribed to the prince of Orange the terms by which he was to rule; they choſe him for king, jointly with Mary, who was the next proteſtant heir to the crown. They were crowned by the titles of William III. and Mary, king and queen of England. The prince ſaw his

ambition

ambition at length gratified; and his wiſdom was repaid with that crown which the folly of his predeceſſor had given away.

LETTER XLVIII.

THOUGH William was choſen king of England, his power was limited on every ſide; and the oppoſition he met with from his parliaments ſtill leſſened his authority. His ſway in Holland, where he was but the ſtadtholder, was far more arbitrary; ſo that he might, with greater propriety, have been called the king of the United Provinces, and the ſtadtholder of England. He was not ſufficiently acquainted with the difficulty of governing the nation by which he was elected: he expected in them a people ready to ſecond the views of his ambition in humbling France; but he found them more apt to fear for the invaſion of their domeſtic liberties from himſelf.

His reign commenced, however, with the ſame attempt which had been the principal cauſe of all the diſturbances in the preceding reign, and had excluded the monarch from the throne. William was a calviniſt, and naturally averſe to perſecution. He therefore began by attempting to repeal thoſe laws that enjoined uniformity of worſhip; and, though he could not entirely ſucceed in his deſign, yet a toleration was granted to ſuch diſſenters as ſhould take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles. The papiſts alſo enjoyed the lenity of his government; and, though the laws againſt them continued to ſubſiſt, yet they were ſeldom put into rigorous execution. What was criminal in James was virtuous in his ſucceſſor:

James

James only wanted to introduce perſecution, by pretending to diſown it; William was averſe to perſecution from principle, and none ſuffered for religious opinions during his reign.

But, though William was acknowledged in England, Scotland was ſtill undetermined. The parliament of that country, however, ſoon recognized his authority, and took that opportunity to aboliſh epiſcopacy, which had been long diſagreeable to the nation. Nothing now remained to the depoſed monarch, of all his former dominions, but Ireland. His cauſe was eſpouſed by all the catholics of that country, who were much more numerous there than thoſe of the proteſtant perſuaſion. The king of France, either touched with compaſſion for his ſufferings, or willing to weaken a rival kingdom by promoting its internal diſſenſions, granted James a fleet and ſome troops, to aſſert his claims there. On the ſeventh day of May this unhappy monarch embarked at Breſt, and on the twenty-ſecond arrived at Kinſale. He was received by the catholics of Ireland with open arms. The proteſtants, who were unanimouſly attached to king William, had been previouſly diſarmed by Tyrconnel, their lord lieutenant, and a papiſt. James made his public entry into Dublin, amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met by a popiſh proceſſion, bearing the hoſt, which he publickly adored; and this ſerved to alienate the few proteſtants of that kingdom who ſtill adhered to his cauſe. A ſmall party of that religion were reſolved to defend their lives and liberties in the little city of Londonderry. They were beſieged by the forces of king James, and ſuffered all the complicated miſeries of war, famine, and biggoted cruelty; but, determined never to

yield

yield, they rejected capitulation, and always repulsed the besiegers with considerable loss. At length, supplies and succours arriving from England king James's army thought proper to raise the siege.

A. D. 1689.

The cruelties exercised upon the protestants were as shocking as unnecessary; soldiers were permitted to pillage them without redress, and they were compelled to accept base money in exchange for those commodities they were forced to sell. But their sufferings were soon to have a period. The duke of Schomberg was sent over with assistance; and William himself soon after followed, and landed at Carrickfergus. He was met by numbers of the protestants who had fled from persecution; and now, at the head of six and thirty thousand men, he was resolved to go in quest of the enemy. Having marched to Dundalk, and then to Ardee, he, at length, came in sight of the Irish army. The river Boyne lay between the two armies, the front of the Irish being secured by a moras and a rising ground. These obstacles were insufficient to prevent the ardour of William, who, when his friend the duke of Schomberg expostulated upon the danger, boldly replied, That a tardy victory would be worse than a defeat. The duke, finding his advice not relished, retired to his tent in a melancholy manner, as if he had a prescience of his own misfortune. Early in the morning, at six o'clock, king William gave orders to pass the river: the army passed in three different places, and the battle began with unusual vigour. The Irish troops, which have been reckoned the best in Europe abroad, have always fought indifferently at home: they fled, after a long resistance, with precipitation, and left the French and

Swiss

Swiſs regiments, who came to their aſſiſtance, to make the beſt retreat they could. William led on his horſe in perſon, and contributed, by his activity and vigilance, to ſecure the victory. James was not in the battle, but ſtood aloof, during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, ſurrounded with ſome ſquadrons of horſe; and, at intervals, was heard to exclaim, when he ſaw his own troops repulſing the enemy, *O ſpare my Engliſh ſubjects!* The Iriſh loſt about fifteen hundred men, and the Engliſh about one third of that number; but the death of the duke of Schomberg, who was ſhot as he was croſſing the water, ſeemed to outweigh all the numbers of the enemy. He had been long a ſoldier of fortune, and fought under almoſt every power in Europe. His ſkill in war was unparalleled, and his fidelity equal to his courage. The number of battles in which he had been perſonally engaged, was ſaid to equal the number of his years; and he died aged eighty-two. James fled, regardleſs of the ſafety of his ſoldiers. William rode round the ſcene of ſlaughter, relieving the wounded, as well of the enemy's troops as his own. O Regan, an old Iriſh captain, was heard to ſay upon this occaſion, That, if the Engliſh would exchange generals, the conquered army would fight the battle over again.

This blow totally depreſſed the hopes of James: he fled to Dublin, adviſed the magiſtrates to get the beſt terms they could from the victor, then ſet out for Waterford, where he embarked for France, in a veſſel prepared for his reception. Had he poſſeſſed either conduct or courage, he might ſtill have headed his troops, and fought with advantage; but prudence forſook him with good fortune.

His

His friends were ſtill reſolved to ſecond his intereſts, though he had abandoned them himſelf. After his retreat, another deſperate battle was fought at Aughrim, in which his adverſaries were again victorious. Limerick, a ſtrong city in the ſouthern part of the kingdom, ſtill held out in his favour. The city was beſieged, and made a brave defence; but, deſpairing of the king's fortunes, the garriſon, at length, capitulated. The Roman catholics, by this capitulation, were reſtored to the enjoyment of ſuch liberty in the exerciſe of their religion as they had poſſeſſed in the reign of Charles II. and about fourteen thouſand of thoſe who had fought in favour of king James, had permiſſion to go over to France, and tranſports were provided for their reception.

A. D. 1691.

The conqueſt of Ireland being thus completed, the only hopes of the fugitive king now depended on the aſſiſtance of Lewis XIV. who promiſed to make a deſcent upon England in his favour. The French king was punctual; he ſupplied the fugitive monarch with an army conſiſting of a body of French troops, ſome Engliſh and Scotch refugees, and the Iriſh regiments which had been tranſported from Limerick into France, by long diſcipline now become excellent ſoldiers. This army was aſſembled between Cherburg and La Hogue: king James commanded it in perſon; and more than three hundred tranſports were provided for landing it on the Engliſh ſhore. Tourville, the French admiral, at the head of ſixty-three ſhips of the line, was appointed to favour the deſcent, and had orders to attack the enemy, if they ſhould attempt to oppoſe him. All things conſpired

ſpired to revive the hopes of the hitherto unfortunate king.

Theſe preparations on the ſide of France were ſoon known at the court of England, and precautions were taken for a vigorous oppoſition: all the ſecret machinations of the baniſhed king's adherents were early diſcovered to the Engliſh miniſtry by ſpies, and they took proper meaſures to defeat them. Admiral Ruſſel was ordered to put to ſea with all poſſible expedition; and he ſoon appeared with ninety-nine ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips. Both fleets men at La Hogue. On the ſucceſs of this engagement all the hopes of James depended; but the victory was on the ſide of the Engliſh, and of numbers. The comabt continued ten hours, and the purſuit two days. Fifteen French men of war were deſtroyed; and the blow was ſo deciſive, that from that time France ſeemed to relinquiſh her claims to the ocean. *A. D.* 1692.

James was now reduced to the loweſt ebb of deſpondence: his deſigns upon England were quite fruſtrated: nothing was now left his friends but terrors and deſpair, or the hopes of aſſaſſinating the monarch on the throne. Theſe baſe attempts, as barbarous as they were uſeleſs, were not entirely diſagreeable to the temper of James: it is ſaid, he encouraged and propoſed them; but they all ended in the deſtruction of their undertakers. He paſſed the reſt of his days at St. Germains, a penſioner on the bounties of Lewis, and aſſiſted by occaſional liberalities from his daughter, and friends in England. He died in 1700, at St. Germains. Some pretend that miracles were wrought at his tomb. We have ſeen few depoſed kings that have not died with a reputation for ſanctity.

The

The defeat at La Hogue confirmed king William's ſafety and title to the crown; the Jacobites were now a feeble and a diſunited faction: new parties therefore aroſe among thoſe who had been friends of the revolution, and William found as much oppoſition from his parliament at home, as from the enemy in the field. His chief motive for accepting the crown was to engage England more deeply in the concerns of Europe. It had ever been his ambition to humble the French, whom he conſidered as the moſt formidable enemies of that liberty which he idolized; and all his politics lay in making alliances againſt them. Many of the Engliſh, on the other hand, had neither the ſame animoſity againſt the French, nor the ſame terrors of their increaſing power; they therefore conſidered the intereſts of the nation as ſacrificed to foreign connections, and complained, that the war on the continent fell moſt heavily on them, though they had the leaſt intereſt in its ſucceſs. To theſe motives of diſcontent was added his partiality to his own countrymen, in prejudice of his Engliſh ſubjects, together with his proud reſerve and ſullen ſilence, ſo unlike the behaviour of all their former kings. William heard their complaints with the moſt phlegmatic indifference: the intereſt of Europe alone employed all his attention: but while he inceſſantly watched over the ſchemes of contending kings and nations, he was unmindful of the cultivation of internal polity. Patriotiſm was ridiculed as an ideal virtue; the practice of bribing, a majority in parliament became univerſal. The example of the great was caught up by the vulgar: all principle, and even decency, was gradually baniſhed; talents lay uncultivated; and

the

the ignorant and profligate were received into favour.

William, upon accepting the crown, was reſolved to preſerve, as much as he was, able, the privileges of a ſovereign. He was, as yet, intirely unacquainted with the nature of a limited monarchy, which was not then thoroughly underſtood in any part of Europe, except in England alone; he therefore often controverted the views of his parliament, and was directed by arbitrary councils. One of the firſt inſtances of this was in the oppoſition he gave to the bill for triennial parliaments; it had paſſed the two houſes, and was ſent up to receive the royal aſſent, which William refuſed to grant: the commons then voted, that whoever adviſed the king to this meaſure was an enemy to his country. The bill, thus rejected, lay dormant for another ſeaſon; and, being again brought in, the king found himſelf obliged, though reluctantly, to comply. The ſame oppoſition, and the ſame ſucceſs, attended a bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon, by which the accuſed was allowed a copy of his indictment, and a liſt of the names of his jury, two days before his trial, together with council to plead in his defence: that no perſon ſhould be indicted, but upon the oaths of two faithful witneſſes. This was one of the moſt ſalutary laws that had been long enacted; but while penal ſtatutes were mitigated on one hand, they were ſtrangely increaſed by a number of others.

The great buſineſs of the parliament, from this period, ſeemed to conſiſt in reſtraining corruption, and bringing ſuch to juſtice as had grown wealthy from the plunder of the publick. The number of laws

laws that were now enacted every ſeſſion ſeemed calculated for the ſafety of the ſubject; but, in reality, were ſymptoms of the univerſal corruption. The more corrupt the commonwealth, the more numerous are the laws.

William was willing to admit all the reſtraints they choſe to lay on the royal prerogative in England, upon condition of being properly ſupplied with the means of humbling the power of France. War, and foreign politics, were all he knew, or deſired to underſtand. The ſums of money granted him for the proſecution of this war were incredible; and the nation, not contented with furniſhing him with ſuch ſupplies as they were immediately capable of raiſing, involved themſelves in debts, which they have never ſince been able to diſcharge. For all this profuſion England received, in return, the empty reward of military glory in Flanders, and the conſciouſneſs of having given the Dutch, whom they ſaved, frequent opportunities of being ungrateful.

The treaty of Ryſwick, at length, put an end to a war, in which England had engaged without intereſt, and came off without advantage. In the general pacification her blood and treaſure, the only equivalent ſhe received, was, the king of France's acknowledgment of king William's title to the crown.

A. D. 1697.

The king, now freed from a foreign war laid himſelf out to ſtrengthen his authority at home. He conceived hopes of keeping up the forces that were granted him in time of war, during the continuance of the peace; but he was not a little mortified to find that the commons had paſſed a vote, that all the forces in Engliſh pay, exceeding ſeven thouſand

thouſand men ſhould be forthwith diſbanded; and that thoſe retained ſhould be natural Engliſh ſubjects. A ſtanding army was this monarch's greateſt delight; he had been bred up in camps, and knew no other pleaſure but that of reviewing troops, or dictating to generals. He profeſſed himſelf therefore entirely diſpleaſed with the propoſal; and his indignation was kindled to ſuch a pitch, that he actually conceived a deſign of abandoning the government. His miniſters, however, diverted him from this reſolution, and perſuaded nim to conſent to paſſing the bill. Such were the altercations between the king and his parliament; which continued during his reign. He conſidered his commons as a ſet of men deſirous of power, and conſequently reſolved upon obſtructing all his projects. He ſeemed but little attached to any party in the houſe; he veered from whigs to tories, as intereſt, or immediate exigence, demanded. England he conſidered as a place of labour, anxiety, and altercation. He uſed to retire to his ſeat at Loo, in Holland, for thoſe moments which he dedicated to pleaſure or tranquility. It was in this quiet retreat he planned the different ſucceſſions of Europe, and laboured to undermine the politics of Lewis XIV. his inſiduous rival in power and in fame. Againſt France his reſentment was ever levelled; and he had made vigorous preparations for entering into a new war with that kingdom, when death interrupted the execution of his ſchemes. He was naturally of *A. D.* 1701. a very feeble conſtitution, and it was now almoſt exhauſted by a life of continual action and care. He endeavoured to conceal the increaſe of his infirmities, and repair his health by riding. In one of his excurſions to Hampton court, his horſe fell

under him, and he himſelf was thrown off with ſuch violence that his collar-bone was fractured. This, in a robuſt conſtitution, would have been a trifling misfortune, but to him it was fatal. Perceiving his end approach, the objects of his former care ſtill lay next his heart; the intereſts of Europe ſtill filled him with concern. The earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the poſture of affairs abroad. Two days after having received the ſacrament from archbiſhop Tenniſon, he expired, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years.

William left behind him the character of a great politician, though he had never been popular; and a formidable general, though he was ſeldom victorious: his deportment was grave and ſullen, nor did he ſhew any fire, but in the day of battle. He deſpiſed flattery, yet loved dominion. Greater as the general of Holland, than the king of England; to one he was a father, to the other a ſuſpicious friend. He ſcrupled not to employ the engines of corruption to gain his ends; and while he increaſed the power of the nation he was brought to govern, he contributed, in ſome meaſure, to corrupt their morals.

LETTER XLIX.

THE diſtreſſes occaſioned by the death of princes are not ſo great, or ſo ſincere, as the ſurvivors would fondly perſuade us. The loſs of king William was, at firſt, thought irreparable; but the proſperity which the kingdom ſeemed to acquire under his ſucceſſor, queen Anne, ſhewed the contrary.

contrary. This princeſs was the ſecond daughter of king James by his firſt wife: ſhe was, by the mother's ſide, deſcended from chancellor Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon; and had been married to the prince of Denmark, before her acceſſion to the crown. She aſcended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, having undergone many viciſſitudes after the expulſion of her father, and many ſevere mortifications during the reign of the late king; but naturally poſſeſſed of an even, ſerene temper, ſhe either was inſenſible of the diſreſpect ſhewn her, or had wiſdom to conceal her reſentment.

She came to the throne with the ſame hoſtile diſpoſition towards France in which the late monarch died. She was wholly guided by the counteſs of Marlborough, a woman of maſculine ſpirit, and remarkable for intrigue, both in politics and gallantry. This lady adviſed a vigorous exertion of the Engliſh power againſt France, as ſhe had already marked the earl, her huſband, for conducting all the operations both in the cabinet and the field. Thus influenced, the queen took early meaſures to confirm her allies, the Dutch, with aſſurances of union and aſſiſtance.

Lewis XIV. now grown familiar with diſappointment and diſgrace, yet ſtill ſpurring on an exhauſted kingdom to ſecond the views of his ambition, expected, from the death of king William, a field open for conqueſts and glory. The vigilance of his late rival had blaſted his laurels, and circumſcribed his power; for, even after a defeat, William ſtill was formidable. At the news of his death, therefore, the French monarch could not ſuppreſs his joy, and his court at Verſailles ſeemed to have forgotten its uſual decorum in the ſincerity

of their rapture. But their pleaſure was ſoon to determine; a much more formidable enemy was now riſing up to oppoſe them; a more able warrior, and one backed by the efforts of an indulgent miſtreſs and a willing nation.

Immediately upon the queen's acceſſion, war was declared againſt the French king, and that monarch was accuſed of attempting to unite the crown of Spain to his own dominions, by placing his grandſon upon the throne of that kingdom; thus attempting to deſtroy the equality of power among the ſtates of Europe. This declaration was ſoon ſeconded with vigorous efforts; an alliance was formed between the Imperialiſts, the Dutch, and the Engliſh, who contributed more to the ſupport of the war than the other two united. Marlborough was ſent over to command the Engliſh army, and the allies declared him generaliſſimo of all their forces. Never was a man better calculated for debate and action than he; ſerene in the midſt of danger, and cool in all the fury of battle. While his counteſs governed the queen, his intrigues governed the kingdom. An indefatigable warriour while in camp, and a ſkilful politician in courts; he thus became the moſt fatal enemy to France that England had produced ſince the conquering times of Creſſy and Agincourt.

This general had learned the art of war under the famous marſhal Turenne, having been a volunteer in his army. He, at that time, went by the name of the *Handſome Engliſhman*; but Turenne foreſaw his future greatneſs. He gave the firſt proofs of his wiſdom by advancing the ſubaltern officers, whoſe merit had hitherto been neglected: he gained the enemy's poſts without fighting, ever advancing, and never loſing one advantage which he

he had gained. To this general was opposed, on the side of France, the *A. D.* 1704. duke of Burgundy, grandson of the king; a youth more qualified to grace a court, than conduct an army: the marshal Boufflers commanded under him, a man of courage and activity. But these qualifications in both were forced to give way to the superior powers of their adversary: after having been forced to retire by the skilful marches of Marlborough, after having seen several towns taken, they gave up all hopes of acting offensively, and concluded the campaign with resolutions to prosecute the next with greater vigour.

Marlborough, upon his return to London, received the rewards of his merit, being thanked by the house of commons, and created a duke by the queen. The success of one campaign but spurred on the English to aim at new triumphs. Marlborough next season returned to the field, with larger authority, and greater confidence from his former success. He began the campaign by taking Bonne, the residence of the elector of Cologne; he next retook Huys, Limbourg, and became master of all the Lower Rhine. The marshal Villeroy, son to the king of France's governor, and *A. D.* 1706. educated with him, was now general of the French army. He was ever a favourite of Lewis, and had shared his pleasures and his campaigns. He was brave, virtuous, and polite, but unequal to the great task of command; and still more so, when opposed to so great a rival.

Marlborough, sensibles of the abilities of his antagonist, was resolved, instead of immediately opposing him, to fly to the succour of the emperor, his ally, who loudly requested his assistance, being pressed on every side by a victorious enemy. The

Engliſh general, who was reſolved to ſtrike a vigorous blow for his relief, took with him about thirteen thouſand Engliſh troops, traverſed extenſive countries by haſty marches, arrived at the banks of the Danube, defeated a body of French and Bavarians ſtationed at Donavert to oppoſe him, paſſed the Danube, and laid the dukedom of Bavaria, that had ſided with the French, under contribution. Villeroy, who at firſt attempted to follow his motions, ſeemed, all at once, to have loſt ſight of his enemy; nor was he appriſed of his rout till he was informed of his ſucceſſes.

Marſhal Tallard prepared, by another rout, to obſtruct the duke of Marlborough's retreat, with thirty thouſand men. He was ſoon after joined by the duke of Bavaria's forces; ſo that the French army amounted to a body of ſixty thouſand diſciplined veterans, commanded by the two beſt reputed generals at that time in France. Tallard had eſtabliſhed his reputation by former victories; he was active, penetrating, and had riſen by the dint of merit alone. But this ardour often roſe to impetuoſity; and he was ſo ſhort-ſighted, as to be unable to diſtinguiſh at the ſmalleſt diſtance. On the other hand, the duke of Marlborough was now joined by the prince Eugene; a general bred up from his infancy in camps, and equal to Marlborough in intrigue and military knowledge. Their talents were congenial; and all their deſigns ſeemed to flow but from one ſource. Their army, when combined, amounted to about fifty-two thouſand men; troops that had been accuſtomed to conquer, and had ſeen the French, the Turks, and the Ruſſians, fly before them. As this battle, both from the talents of the generals, the improvements in the art of war, the number and diſcipline of the

troops,

troops, and the greatneſs of the contending powers is reckoned the moſt remarkable of this century, it demands a more particular detail.

The French were poſted on a hill, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, and commanded by marſhal Tallard; their left was defended by a village, and headed by the elector of Marſin, an experienced French general. In the front of their army ran a rivulet, the banks of which were ſteep, and the bottom marſhy. Marlborough and Eugene went together to obſerve the poſture of the French forces. Notwithſtanding their advantageous ſituation they were reſolved to attack them immediately. The battle began between twelve and one in the afternoon. Marlborough at the head of the Engliſh troops, having paſſed the rivulet, attacked the cavalry of Tallard in the right. This general was at that time reviewing the diſpoſition of his troops in the left; and the cavalry fought for ſome time without the preſence of their general. Prince Eugene, on the left, had not yet attacked the forces of the elector; and it was an hour before he could bring his forces up to the engagement.

Tallard had no ſooner underſtood that his right was attacked by the duke but he flew to its head. He found the furious encounter already begun, his cavalry thrice repulſed, and rallied as often. He had a large body of forces in the village of Blenheim; he made an attempt to bring them to the charge. They were attacked by a part of Malborough's forces ſo vigorouſly, that, inſtead of aſſiſting the main body, they could hardly maintain their ground. All the French cavalry, being now attacked in flank, was totally defeated. The Engliſh army, thus half victorious, pierced up

between the two bodies of the French, commanded by the marſhal and the elector, while at the ſame time the forces in the village of Blenheim were ſeparated by another detachment. In this terrible ſituation, Tallard flew to rally ſome ſquadrons, but, from his ſhort-ſightedneſs, miſtaking a detachment of the enemy for his own, he was taken priſoner by the Heſſian troops, who were in Engliſh pay. In the mean time, prince Eugene on the left, after having been thrice repulſed, put the enemy into confuſion. The rout then became general, and the flight precipitate. The conſternation was ſuch, that the French ſoldiers threw themſelves into the Danube without knowing where they fled: the officers loſt all their authority; there was no general left to ſecure a retreat. The allies were now maſters of the field of battle, and ſurrounded the village of Blenheim, where a body of thirteen thouſand men had been poſted in the beginning of the action, and ſtill kept their ground. Theſe troops ſeeing themſelves cut off from all communication from the reſt of the army, threw down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Thus ended the battle of Blenheim, one of the moſt complete victories that was ever obtained. Twelve thouſand French and Bavarians were ſlain in the field, or drowned in the Danube; thirteen thouſand were made priſoners of war. Of the allies about five thouſand men were killed, and eight thouſand wounded or taken.

The loſs of the battle is imputed to two capital errors committed by marſhal Tallard; firſt weakening the centre, by detaching ſuch a number of troops to the village of Blenheim; and then ſuffering the confederates to paſs the rivulet, and form unmoleſted. The next day, when the duke of

Marl-

Marlborough viſited his priſoner, the marſhal paid him the compliment of having overcome the beſt troops in the world. *I hope, ſir*, replied the duke, *you will except thoſe by whom they were conquered.*

A country of an hundred leagues extent fell, by this defeat, into the hands of the victor.

Having thus ſucceeded beyond his hopes, the duke once more returned to England, where he found the people in a tranſport of joy: he was welcomed as an hero who had retrieved the glory of the nation; and the queen, the parliament, and the people, were ready to ſecond him in all his deſigns. The manor of Woodſtock was conferred upon him for his ſervices; and the lord-keeper, in the name of the peers, honoured him with that praiſe he ſo well deſerved. *A. D.* 1706.

The ſucceſs of the laſt campaign induced the Engliſh to increaſe their ſupplies for the next; and the duke had fixed upon the Moſelle for the ſcene of action; but being diſappointed by prince Lewis, who promiſed his aſſiſtance, he returned to the Netherlands to oppoſe Villeroy, who, in his abſence, undertook the ſiege of Liege. Villeroy having received advice of the duke's approach, abandoned his enterpriſe, and retreated within his lines. Marlborough was reſolved to force them. He led his troops to the charge; after a warm, but ſhort engagement, the enemy's horſe were defeated with great ſlaughter. The infantry being abandoned, retreated in great diſorder to an advantageous poſt, where they again drew up in order of battle. Had the duke been permitted to take advantage of their conſternation, as he propoſed, it is poſſible he might have gained a complete victory; but he was oppoſed by the Dutch officers, who repreſented it in ſuch a light to the deputies of the ſtates, that they

they refuſed to conſent to its execution. This timidity was highly reſented in England, and laid the firſt foundation of ſuſpecting the Dutch fidelity; they were ſecretly accuſed of a deſire to protract the war, by which they alone, of all the powers in Europe, were gainers.

While the arms of England were crowned with ſucceſs in the Netherlands, they were not leſs fortunate in Spain, where efforts were made to fix Charles, duke of Auſtria, upon the throne. The greateſt part of that kingdom had declared in favour of Philip IV. grandſon to Lewis XIV. who had been nominated ſucceſſor by the late king of Spain's will. We have already ſeen, that, by a former treaty among the powers of Europe, Charles of Auſtria was appointed heir to that crown; and this treaty had been guaranteed by France herſelf, who now intended to reverſe it in favour of a deſcendent of the houſe of Bourbon. Charles therefore entered Spain, aſſiſted by the arms of England, and invited by the Catalonians, who had declared in his favour. He was furniſhed with two hundred tranſports, thirty ſhips of war, nine thouſand men; and the earl of Peterborough, a man of even romantic bravery, was placed at their head.

One of the firſt exploits of theſe forces was to take Gibraltar, which had hitherto been deemed impregnable. A ledge of lofty rocks defended it almoſt on every ſide by land, and an open and ſtormy bay took away all ſecurity for ſhipping by ſea; a few troops were therefore capable of defending it againſt the moſt numerous armies. The ſecurity of the garriſon proved their ruin. A detachment of eighteen hundred marines were landed upon that neck of level ground which joins it to

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the continent. Theſe were incapable of attempting any thing effectual, and even deſtitute of hopes of ſucceeding. A body of ſailors, in boats, were ordered to attack an half-ruined mole: they took poſſeſſion of the platform, unterrified by a mine that blew up an hundred men in the air: with the utmoſt intrepidity they kept their ground, and, being ſoon joined by other ſeamen, took a redoubt, between the mole and the town, by ſtorm. The governor was now obliged to capitulate; and the prince of Heſſe entered the town, amazed at the ſucceſs of ſo deſperate an enterpriſe. This was a glorious and an uſeful acquiſition to the Britiſh dominions: their trade to the Mediterranean was thus ſecured; and they had here a repoſitory capable of containing all things neceſſary for the repairing of fleets, or the equipment of armies.

Soon after the taking this important garriſon, the Engliſh fleet, now miſtreſs of the ſeas, attacked the French admiral, who commanded fifty-two ſhips of war. After an obſtinate conteſt, the Engliſh became victorious; the French fleet ſailed away, nor could it be brought again to the engagement, though the loſſes on either ſide were equal. This may be reckoned the final effort of France by ſea: in all ſubſequent engagements their chief care was rather to conſult means of eſcape than of victory. Nor yet were the French and Spaniards willing to ſuffer Gibraltar to be taken, without an effort for repriſal. Philip ſent an army to retake it, and France a fleet of thirteen ſhips of the line: both were equally unſucceſsful; part of the fleet was diſperſed by a tempeſt, and another part taken by the Engliſh; while the army, having made little or no progreſs by land, was obliged to abandon the enterpriſe.

Nor were the Engliſh leſs ſucceſsful in aſſerting the title of Charles to the kingdom. Their army was commanded by the earl of Peterborough, one of the moſt ſingular and extraordinaty men of the age. At fifteen he fought againſt the Moors in Africa, at twenty he aſſiſted in compaſſing the revolution: he now carried on this war in Spain, almoſt at his own expence; and his friendſhip for the duke Charles was his ſtrongeſt motive to undertake it. He was deformed in perſon, but of a mind the moſt generous and active that ever inſpired an honeſt boſom. His firſt attempt in Spain was to beſiege Barcelona; a ſtrong city with a garriſon of five thouſand men, while his own army amounted to but ſeven thouſand. Never was an attempt more bold, or more fortunate. The operations began by a ſudden attack on fort Monjuice, ſtrongly ſituated on a hill, that commanded the city. The out-works were taken by ſtorm: a ſhell chanced to fall into the body of the fort, and blew up the magazine of powder; the garriſon of the fort was ſtruck with conſternation, and ſurrendered without farther reſiſtance. The town ſtill remained unconquered: the Engliſh general erected batteries againſt it, and, in a few days, the governor capitulated. During the interval of capitulation, the Germans and Catalonians in the Engliſh army had entered the town, and were plundering all before them. The governor thought himſelf betrayed: he upbraided the treachery of the general. Peterborough flew among the plunderers, drove them from their prey, and returned ſoon after coolly to finiſh the capitulation. The Spaniards were equally amazed at the generoſity of the Engliſh, and the baſeneſs of their own countrymen, who had led on to the ſpoil.

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The conqueſt of all Valencia ſucceeded the taking of this important place: the enemy, after a defeated attempt to retake Barcelona, ſaw themſelves deprived of almoſt every hope; the party of Charles was increaſing every day; he became maſter of Arragon, Carthagena, and Grenada; the road to Madrid, their capital city, lay open before him; the earl of Galloway entered it in triumph, and there proclaimed Charles king of Spain without farther oppoſition.

The Engliſh had ſcarce time to rejoice at theſe ſucceſſes of their arms, when their attention was turned to new victories in Flanders. The duke of Marlborough had early commenced the campaign, and brought an army of eighty thouſand men into the field, and ſtill expected reinforcements from Denmark and Pruſſia. The court of France was reſolved to attack him before this junction. Villeroy, who commanded an army conſiſting of eighty thouſand men, near Tirlemont, had orders to engage. He accordingly drew up his forces in a ſtrong camp; his right was flanked by the river Mehaigne, his left was poſted behind a marſh, and the village of Ramilies lay in the centre. Marlborough, who perceived this diſpoſition, drew up his army accordingly. He knew that the enemy's left could not paſs the marſh, to attack him, but at a great diſadvantage; he therefore weakened his troops on that quarter, and thundered on the centre with ſuperior numbers. They ſtood but a ſhort time in the centre, and at length gave way on all ſides. The horſe abandoned their foot, and were ſo cloſely purſued, that almoſt all were cut in pieces. Six thouſand men were taken priſoners, and about eight thouſand were killed or wounded. This victory was almoſt as a ſignal as that of Blenheim;

heim; Bavaria and Cologne were the fruits of the one, and all Brabant was gained by the other. The French troops were diſpirited, and the city of Paris overwhelmed with conſternation. Lewis XIV. who had long been flattered with conqueſt, was now humbled to ſuch a degree as almoſt to excite the compaſſion of his enemies: he intreated for peace, but in vain; the allies carried all before them, and his very capital dreaded the approach of the conquerors. What neither his power, his armies, nor his politics, could effect, a party in England performed; and the diſſenſion between the whigs and the tories ſaved the dominions of France, that now ſeemed ready for ruin.

LETTER L.

QUEEN Anne's councils had hitherto been governed by a whig miniſtry; they ſtill purſued the ſchemes of the late king, and, upon republican principles, ſtrove to diffuſe freedom throughout Europe. In a government, were the reaſoning of individuals, retired from power, generally leads thoſe who command, the deſigns of the miniſtry muſt change, as the people happen to alter. The queen's perſonal virtues, her ſucceſſes, her adulation from the throne, contributed all to change the diſpoſition of the nation; they now began to defend hereditary ſucceſſion, non-reſiſtance, and divine right; they were now become tories, and were ready to convert the deſigns of a whig miniſtry, whenever a leader offered to conduct them to the charge.

Theſe diſcontents were, in ſome meaſure, increaſed by a meditated union between the two kingdoms

doms of England and Scotland. The treaty for this purpoſe was chiefly managed by the miniſtry; and although it was fraught with numberleſs benefits to either kingdom, yet it raiſed the murmurs of both. The Engliſh expected nothing from the union of ſo poor a nation, but a participation of their neceſſities; they thought it unjuſt, that, while Scotland was granted an eighth part of the legiſlature, it yet ſhould be taxed but a fortieth part of the ſupplies. On the other hand, the Scots conſidered that their independency would be quite deſtroyed, and the dignity of their crown betrayed; they dreaded an increaſe of taxes, and ſeemed not much to eſteem the advantages of an increaſed trade. In every political meaſure there are diſadvantages on either ſide, which may be ſufficient to deter the timid, but which a bold legiſlator diſregards. The union, after ſome ſtruggles, was effected; Scotland was no longer to have a parliament, but to ſend ſixteen peers, choſen from the body of their nobility, and forty-five commoners. The two kingdoms were called by the common name of Great Britain; and all the ſubjects of both were to enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages. *July* 22, 1706.

This meaſure, which ſtrengthened the vigour of government by uniting its force, ſeemed to threaten the enemies of Great Britain with dangers abroad; but the diſcontents of the nation at home prevented the effects of its newly-acquired power. The tories, now become the majority, were diſpleaſed with the whig miniſtry; they looked with jealouſy on the power of the earl of Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough, who had long governed the queen, and laviſhed the treaſures of the nation on conqueſts more glorious than ſerviceable.

able. To them the people imputed the burthens under which they now groaned, and others which they had reaſon to fear. The loſs of a battle near Almanza, in Spain, where the Engliſh army were taken priſoners, under the command of the earl of Galloway, with ſome other miſcarriages, tended to heighten their diſpleaſure, and diſpelled the inebriation of former ſucceſs. The tories did not fail to inculcate and exaggerate theſe cauſes of diſcontent, while Robert Harley, afterward earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, made ſoon after lord Bolingbroke, ſecretly fanned the flame.

Harley had lately become a favourite of the queen: the petulance of the ducheſs of Marlborough, who formerly ruled the queen, had entirely alienated the affections of her miſtreſs; ſhe now placed them upon one Mrs. Maſham, who was entirely devoted to lord Oxford. Oxford was poſſeſſed of uncommon erudition; he was polite and intriguing; he had inſinuated himſelf into the royal favour, and determined to ſap the credit of Marlborough and his inherents. In this attempt he choſe, for his ſecond, Bolingbroke, a man of exalted powers of thinking, eloquent, ambitious, and enterpriſing. Bolingbroke was, at firſt, contented to act a ſubordinate character in this meditated oppoſition; but ſoon perceiving the ſuperiority of his own talents, from being an inferior, he was reſolved to become lord Oxford's rival. The duke of Marlborough ſoon perceived their growing power, and reſolved to cruſh it in the beginning. He refuſed to join in the privy council, while Harley was ſecretary. Godolphin joined his influence in this meaſure; and the queen was obliged to appeaſe their reſentment by diſcharging Harley from his place: Bolingbroke was reſolved to ſhare his diſ-

grace,

grace, and voluntarily relinquiſhed his employments.

This violent meaſure, which ſeemed, at firſt, favourable to the whig miniſtry, laid the firſt foundation of its ruin: the queen was entirely diſpleaſed with the haughty conduct of the duke; and, from that moment, he loſt her confidence and affection. Harley was enabled to act now with leſs diſguiſe, and to take more vigorous meaſures for the completion of his deſigns. In him the queen repoſed all her truſt, though he now had no viſible concern in the adminiſtration.

The whig party, in this manner, ſeemed to triumph for ſome time, till an occurrence, in itſelf of no great importance, ſerved to ſhew the ſpirit of the times. Doctor Sacheverel, a miniſter of narrow intellects and bigotted principles, had publiſhed two ſermons, *A. D.* 1709. in which he ſtrongly inſiſted on the illegality of reſiſting kings, and enforced the divine origin of their authority; declaimed againſt the diſſenters, and exhorted the church to put on the whole armour of God. There was nothing in the ſermons either nervous, well written, or clear; they owed all their celebrity to the complexion of the times, and are at preſent juſtly forgotten. Sacheverel was impeached by the commons, at the bar of the upper houſe; they ſeemed reſolutely bent upon puniſhing him, and a day was appointed for trying him before the lords at Weſtminſter-hall. Mean while, the tories, who, one and all, approved his principles, were as violent in his defence as the parliament had been in his proſecution. The eyes of the kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial; the queen herſelf was every day preſent as a private ſpectator. The trial laſted ſome

days;

days; and vaſt multitudes attended him each day, as he went to the hall, ſhouting and praying for his ſucceſs. The body of the people eſpouſed his cauſe. They deſtroyed ſeveral meeting-houſes, and plundered the dwellings of diſſenters; and the queen herſelf could not but reliſh thoſe doctrines which contributed to extend her prerogative. The lords were divided; they continued undetermined for ſome time; but at length, after much obſtinate diſpute and virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of ſeventeen voices. He was prohibited from preaching, for the term of three years: his two ſermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The lenity of this ſentence was conſidered, by the tories, as a victory; and, in fact, their faction took the lead all the remaining part of this reign.

The king of France, long perſecuted by fortune, and each hour fearing for his capital, one more petitioned for peace. Godolphin and Marlborough, who had, ſince the beginning of the war, enjoyed the double advantage of extending their glory, and increaſing their fortunes, were entirely adverſe to any negotiation which tended to diminiſh both. The tories, on the other hand, willing to humble the general and his partner Godolphin, were ſincerely deſirous of a peace, as the only meaſure to attain their ends. A conference was, at length, begun at Gertruydenberg, under the influence of Marlborough, Eugene, and Zinzendorf, all three entirely averſe to the treaty. The French miniſters were ſubjected to every ſpecies of mortification; their conduct narrowly watched; their maſter inſulted; and their letters opened. They offered to ſatisfy every complaint that had given riſe to the war: they conſented to abandon Philip

IV. in Spain; to grant the Dutch a large barrier; they even consented to grant a supply towards dethroning Philip; but even this offer was treated with contempt, and at length the conference was broken off, while Lewis resolved to hazard another campaign.

The designs of the Dutch, and the English general, were too obvious not to be seen, and properly explained by their enemies in England. The writers of the tory faction, who were men of the first rank in literary merit, displayed the avarice of the duke, and the self-interested conduct of the Dutch: they insisted, that, while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests, she was losing her liberty at home; that her ministers were not contented with sharing the plunder of an impoverishing state, but were resolved upon destroying its liberties also. To these complaints were added the real pride of the then prevailing ministry, and the insolence of the duchess of Marlborough, who hitherto had possessed more real power than the whole privy-council united. Mrs. Masham, who had first been recommended to the queen's favour by the duchess, now fairly supplanted her patroness; and, by a steady attention to please the queen, had gained all that confidence which she had reposed in her former confidante. It was too late that the duchess perceived this alienation of the queen's favour, and now began to think of repairing it by demanding an audience of her majesty, in order to vindicate her character from every suspicion; but formal explanations ever widen the breach.

Mr. Hill, brother to the new favourite, was appointed by the queen to be colonel of a regiment; this the duke of Marlborough could by no means approve.

approve. He expoſtulated with his ſovereign; he retired in diſguſt: the queen, by a letter, gave him leave to diſpoſe of the regiment as he ſhould think proper; but, before it came to his hands, he had ſent a letter to the queen, deſiring ſhe would permit him to retire from his employments. This was the conjuncture which the tories had long wiſhed for, and which the queen herſelf was internally pleaſed with. She now perceived herſelf ſet free from an arbitrary combination, by which ſhe had been long kept in dependence. The earl of Godolphin, the duke's ſon-in-law, was diveſted of his office; and the treaſury ſubmitted to Harley, the antagoniſt of his ambition. Lord Somers was

A. D. 1711. diſmiſſed from being preſident of the council, and the earl of Rocheſter appointed in his room. In a word, there was not one whig left in any office of ſtate, except the duke of Marlborough; he retained his employments for a ſhort time, unſupported and alone, an object of envy and factious reproach, till at length he found his cauſe irretrievable, and was obliged, after trying another campaign, to reſign, as the reſt of his party had done before.

As war ſeemed to have been the deſire of the whig party, ſo peace ſeemed to have been that of the tories. Through the courſe of Engliſh hiſtory, France ſeems to have been the peculiar object of the hatred of the whigs, and continual war with that nation has been their aim. On the contrary, the tories have been found to regard that nation with no ſuch oppoſition of principle; and a peace with France has generally been the reſult of a tory adminiſtration. For ſome time, therefore, a negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new miniſters, who had

had a double aim in this measure; namely, to mortify the whigs and the Dutch, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the constitution.

LETTER LI.

THE conferences for peace were first opened at London; and some time after the queen sent the earl of Strafford as ambassador into Holland, to communicate the *A. D.* 1712. propositals which the French king had made towards the re-establishment of the general tranquillity. The spirit of the times was now changed: Marlborough's aversion to such measures could no longer retard the negotiation; lord Strafford obliged the Dutch to name plenipotentiaries, and to receive those of France. The treaty began at Utrecht; but as all the powers concerned in this conference, except France and England, were averse to every accommodation, their disputes served rather to retard than accelerate a pacification. The English ministry, however, had foreseen and provided against those difficulties. Their great end was to free the subjects from a long, unprofitable war; a war where conquest could add nothing to their power, and a defeat might be prejudicial to internal tranquillity. As England had borne the chief burthen of the war, it was but just to expect that it would take the lead in dictating the terms of peace. There were, however, three persons of very great interest and power, who laboured, by every art, to protract the negotiation; those were the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene,

and

and Heinſius, the Dutch grand penſionary. Prince Eugene even came over to London, in order to retard the progreſs of a peace, which ſeemed to interrupt his career of glory: he found at court ſuch a reception as was due to his merits and fame; but, at the ſame time, ſuch a repulſe as the propoſals he made ſeemed to deſerve.

This negotiation at London failing of effect, the allies practiſed every artifice to intimidate the queen, and blacken the character of her miniſters; to raiſe and continue a dangerous ferment among the people; to obſtruct her councils and divulge her deſigns. Her miniſters were very ſenſible of their preſent dangerous ſituation; they perceived her health was daily impairing, and, her ſucceſſor countenanced the oppoſite faction. In caſe of her death, they had nothing to expect but proſecution and ruin, for obeying her commands; their only way therefore was to give up their preſent employments, or haſten the concluſion of a treaty, the utility of which would be the beſt arguments with the people in their favour. The peace therefore was haſtened; and this haſte, in ſome meaſure, relaxed the miniſters obſtinacy, in inſiſting upon ſuch terms and advantages as they had a right to demand. Seeing that nothing was to be expected from the concurrences of the allies, the courts of London and Verſailles reſolved to enter into a private treaty, in which ſuch terms might be agreed on, as would enable both courts to preſcribe terms to the reſt of the contending powers.

In the mean time, the duke of Marlborough, having been depoſed from his office of general, the command of the Engliſh army in Flanders was given to the duke of Ormond; but, at the ſame time, private orders were given him not to act

act with vigour againſt an enemy, which was upon the point of being reconciled by more mild methods of treatment. The allies, thus deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, ſtill continued their animoſity, and were reſolved to continue the war ſeparately: they had the utmoſt confidence in prince Eugene, their general; and, though leſſened by the defection of the Britiſh forces, they were ſtill ſuperior to thoſe of the enemy, which were commanded by marſhal Villars; a man who ſeemed to poſſeſs all the great qualities, and all the foibles of his country, in a ſupreme degree; valiant, generous, alert, lively, boaſtful, and avaricious. The loſs of the Britiſh forces was ſoon ſeverely felt in the allied army. Villars, attacked a ſeparate body of their troops incamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their intrenchments were forced, and ſeventeen battalions either killed or taken, the earl himſelf, and all the ſurviving officers, being made priſoners of war.

Theſe ſucceſſes of marſhal Villars ſerved to haſten the treaty of Utrecht. The Britiſh miniſters at the congreſs, reſponſible at once for their conduct to their queen, their country, and all Europe, neglected nothing that might have been ſerviceable either to the allies, or that might conduce to the publick ſafety. They firſt ſtipulated that Philip V. who had been ſettled on the throne of Spain, ſhould renounce all right to the crown of France, the union of two ſuch powerful kingdoms being thought dangerous to the liberties of the reſt of Europe. They covenanted that the duke of Berry, his brother, the preſumptive heir to the crown of France, after the death of the dauphin, ſhould alſo renounce his right to the

crown

crown of Spain, in caſe he became king of France. The duke of Orleans was to make the ſame reſignation. To oblige men thus to renounce their rights might have been injuſtice; but, for every good acquired, ſome inconvenience muſt be endured: theſe reſignations, in ſome meaſure, ſerved to calm the world tempeſted up by long war, and have ſince become the baſis of the law of nations, to which Europe profeſſes preſent ſubmiſſion.

By this treaty the duke of Savoy had the iſland of Sicily, with the title of king, with Feneſtrelles, and other places on the continent; which increaſe of power ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, drawn from the ſpoils of the French monarchy. The Dutch had that barrier granted them which they ſo long ſought after; and, if the houſe of Bourbon ſeemed ſtripped of ſome dominions, in order to enrich the duke of Savoy, on the other hand, the houſe of Auſtria was taxed to ſupply the wants of the Hollanders, who were put in poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt towns in Flanders. With regard to England, its glory and intereſts were ſecured. They cauſed the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demoliſhed, and its port to be deſtroyed. Spain gave up all right to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca. France reſigned Hudſon's Bay, Nova-Scotia, and Newfoundland; but they were left in poſſeſſion of Cape-Breton, and the liberty of drying their fiſh upon the ſhore. Among the articles which were glorious to the Engliſh, it may be obſerved, that the ſetting free thoſe who had been confined in the French priſons, for profeſſing the proteſtant religion, was not the leaſt. It was ſtipulated, that the emperor ſhould poſſeſs the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spaniſh Netherlands; that the king of Pruſſia

ſhould

ſhould have Upper Gueldre; and a time was fixed for the emperor's acceding to theſe reſolutions, for he had hitherto obſtinately refuſed to aſſiſt at the negotiation. Thus it appears, that the Engliſh miniſtry did juſtice to all the world; but their country refuſed it to them; they were branded with all the terms of infamy and reproach by the whig party, and accuſed of having given up the privileges and rights which England had to expect. Each party reviled the other in turn; the kingdom was divided into oppoſite factions, both ſo violent in the cauſe, that the truth, which both pretended to eſpouſe, was attained by neither; both were virulent, and both wrong. Theſe commotions, in ſome meaſure, ſerved ſtill more to impair the queen's health. One fit of ſickneſs ſucceeded another: nor did the conſolation of her miniſtry ſerve to allay her anxieties; for they now had fallen out among themſelves, the council-chamber being turned into a theatre for the moſt bitter altercations. Oxford adviſed a reconciliation with the whigs, whoſe reſentment he now began to fear, as the queen's health appeared to be impaired. Bolingbroke, on the other hand, affected to ſet the whigs at defiance; profeſſed a warm zeal for the church, and mixed flattery with his other affiduities. Bolingbroke prevailed; lord Oxford, the treaſurer, was removed from his employment, and retired, meditating ſchemes of revenge, and new projects of re-eſtabliſhment. His fall was ſo ſudden, and ſo unexpected, that no plan was adopted for ſupplying the vacancy occaſioned by his diſgrace. All was confuſion at court; and the queen had no longer force to ſupport the burthen: ſhe ſunk into a ſtate of inſenſibility, and thus found refuge from anxiety in lethargic ſlumber. Every *A. D.* 1713.

method was contrived to rouſe her from this ſtate, but in vain; her phyſicians deſpaired of her life. The privy-council aſſembled upon this occaſion; the dukes of Somerſet and Argyll, being informed of the deſperate ſtate in which ſhe lay, entered that aſſembly without being ſummoned; the members were ſurpriſed at their appearance, but the duke of Shrewſbury thanked them for their readineſs to give their aſſiſtance at ſuch a critical juncture, and deſired them to take their places. They now took all neceſſary precautions for ſecuring the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, ſent orders to the heralds at arms, and to a troop of life-guards to be in readineſs to mount, in order to proclaim the Elector of Brunſwick king of Great Britain.

On the thirtieth of July the queen ſeemed ſomewhat relieved by medicines, roſe from her bed, and, about eight, walked a little; when, caſting her eyes on the clock that ſtood in her chamber, ſhe continued to gaze for ſome time. One of the ladies in waiting aſked her what ſhe ſaw there more than uſual; to which the queen only anſwered by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. She was ſoon after ſeized with a fit of the apoplexy, from which however ſhe was relieved by the aſſiſtance of Doctor Mead. In this ſtate of ſtupefaction ſhe continued all night; ſhe gave ſome ſigns of life between twelve and one next day, but expired the next morning, a little after ſeven o'clock, having lived forty-nine years five months and ſix days; and having reigned more than twelve years with honour, equity, and applauſe. This princeſs was rather amiable than great, rather pleaſing than beautiful; neither her capacity nor learning were remarkable. Like all thoſe of her family, ſhe

Auguſt, 1714.

ſeemed

ſeemed rather fitted for the private duties of life than a public ſtation; a pattern of conjugal affection, a good mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent miſtreſs. During her reign none ſuffered on the ſcaffold for treaſon; ſo that, after a long ſucceſſion of faulty or cruel kings, ſhe ſhines with particular luſtre. In her ended the line of the Stewarts; a family, the misfortunes and miſconducts of which are not to be paralleled in hiſtory; a family, who, leſs than men themſelves, ſeemed to expect from their followers more than manhood in their defence; a family demanding rather our pity than aſſiſtance, who never rewarded their friends, nor avenged them of their enemies.

LETTER LII.

THE nearer we approach to our own times, in thisſurvey of Engliſh hiſtory, the more important every occurrence becomes: our own intereſts are blended with thoſe of the ſtate; and the accounts of public welfare are but the tranſcript of private happineſs. The two parties which had long divided the kingdom, under the names of whig and tory, now ſeemed to altar their titles; the whigs being ſtyled Hanoverians, and the tories branded with the appellation of Jacobites. The former deſired to be governed by a king who was a proteſtant, though a foreigner; the latter, by a monarchy of their own country, though a papiſt. Of the two inconveniences, however, that ſeemed the leaſt, where religion ſeemed to be in no danger; and the Hanoverians prevailed. *A. D.* 1714.

The popiſh Jacobites had been long flattered

with the hopes of ſeeing the ſucceſſion altered by the earl of Oxford; but by the premature death of the queen, all their expectations at once were blaſted: the diligence and activity of the privy-council, in which the Hanoverian intereſt prevailed, completed their confuſion, and they now found themſelves without any leader to give conſiſtency to their deſigns, and force to their councils. Upon recollection they ſaw nothing ſo eligible as ſilence and ſubmiſſion; they hoped much from the aſſiſtance of France, and ſtill more from the vigour of the pretender.

Purſuant to the act of ſucceſſion, George I. ſon of Erneſt Auguſtus, firſt elector of Brunſwick, and Sophia, grand-daughter to James I. aſcended the Britiſh throne. His mature age, being now fifty-four years old; his ſagacity and experience, his numerous alliances, the general peace of Europe, all contributed to his ſupport, and promiſed a peaceable and happy reign. His virtues, though not ſhining, were ſolid. He was of a very different diſpoſition from the Stewart family, whom he ſucceeded: they were known to a proverb for leaving their friends in diſtreſs; George on the contrary, ſoon after his arrival in England, uſed to ſay, *My maxim is never to abandon my friends; to do juſtice to all the world; and to fear no man.* To theſe qualifications he joined great application to buſineſs; but generally ſtudied more the intereſts of thoſe ſubjects he had left behind, than of theſe he came to govern.

The king firſt landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, and the lords of the regency. From the landing-place he walked to his houſe in the park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and

other

other perſons of diſtinction, who had the honour to kiſs his hand as they approached. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he ſent for thoſe of the nobility who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for his ſucceſſion; but the duke of Ormond, the lord Chancellor, and lord Trevor, were not of the number: lord Oxford too, the next morning, was received with marks of diſapprobation; and none but the whig party were admitted into any ſhare of confidence. The king of a faction is but the ſovereign of half his ſubjects: of this, however, the monarch I ſpeak of did not ſeem ſenſible; it was his misfortune, as well as that of the nation, that he was hemmed round by men who ſoured him with all their intereſts and prejudices: none now but the violent in faction were admitted into employment; and the whigs, while they pretended to ſecure for him the crown, were, with all poſſible diligence, abridging the prerogative. An inſtantaneous and total change was effected in all the offices of honour and advantage. The whigs governed the ſenate, and the court diſpoſed of all places at pleaſure: whom they would they oppreſſed; bound the lower orders of people with new and ſevere laws; and this they called liberty.

Theſe partialities, and this oppreſſion, ſoon raiſed diſcontents throughout the kingdom. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived, jealouſies were harboured, and dangerous tumults raiſed in every part of the country. The party cry was, Down with the whigs! Sacheverel for ever! During theſe commotions in the pretender's favour, the prince himſelf continued a calm ſpectator on the continent, now and then ſending over his emiſſaries to inflame the diſturbances, to diſperſe

his ineffectual manifeſtoes, and to delude the unwary. Copies of a printed addreſs were ſent to the dukes of Shrewſbury, Marlborough, Argyll, and other noblemen of the firſt diſtinction, vindicating the pretender's right to the crown, and complaining of the injuſtice that was done him by receiving a foreigner: yet, for all this, he ſtill continued to profeſs the trueſt regard to the catholic religion; and, inſtead of concealing his ſentiments on that head, gloried in his principles. It was the being a papiſt which had diſpoſſeſſed his father of the throne; and ſurely the ſon could never hope to gain a crown by the very methods in which it was loſt! but an infatuation ſeemed for ever to attend the family.

However odious, at that time, the popiſh ſuperſtitions were to the people in general, yet the opinions of the diſſenters ſeemed ſtill more diſpleaſing. Religion was mingled with all political diſputes. The high-church party complained, that, under a whig adminiſtration, impiety and hereſy daily gained ground; that the prelates were at once negligent of religious concerns, and warm in purſuit of temporal bleſſings. A book written by doctor Samuel Clarke, in favour of Socinianiſm, was ſtrictly reprehended. The diſputes among the churchmen roſe to ſuch a height, that the miniſtry was obliged to interpoſe; and the clergy received orders to finiſh ſuch debates, and to intermeddle in affairs of ſtate no longer. Nothing, however, could be more impolitic in a ſtate, than to prohibit the clergy from diſputing with each other: by this means they become more animated in the cauſe of religion; and this may be aſſerted, that, whatever ſide they defend, they become wiſer and better, as they carry on the cauſe. To ſilence

their

their diſputes is to lead them into negligence; if religion be not kept up by oppoſition, it falls to the ground, nor longer becomes an object of public concern. Government, I ſay again, ſhould never ſilence diſpute, and ſhould never ſide with either diſputant.

A new parliament was now called, in which the whigs had by far the majority; all prepoſſeſſed with the ſtrongeſt averſion to the tories, and led on by the king himſelf, who made no ſecret of his diſpleaſure. Upon their firſt meeting, he informed them, that the branches of the revenue granted for the ſupport of civil government, were not ſufficient for that purpoſe; he apprized them of the machinations of the pretender, and intimated, that he expected their aſſiſtance in puniſhing ſuch as had endeavoured to deprive him of that bleſſing which he moſt valued, the affection of his people. As the houſes were then diſpoſed, this ſerved to give them the alarm; and they outwent even the moſt ſanguine expectations of the moſt vindictive miniſtry.

Their reſentment began with arraigning lord Bolingbroke of high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors. To this it was objected by one of the members of the houſe of commons, that nothing in the allegations laid to his charge amounted to high-treaſon. To this there was no reply given; but, lord Coningſby ſtanding up, *The Chairman*, ſaid he, *has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the ſcholar, and I the maſter. I impeach Robert earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer, of high-treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors.* When therefore this nobleman appeared the next day in the houſe of lords, he was avoided, by his brother peers, as infectious:

he, whoſe favour had been but a little before ſo earneſtly ſought after, was now rejected and contemned. When the articles were read againſt him in the houſe of peers, ſome debates aroſe as to the nature of his indictment, which, however, were carried by his adverſaries, and the articles of impeachment approved by the houſe: he was therefore again impeached at the bar of the houſe of lords; and a motion was made, that he might loſe his ſeat, and be committed to cloſe cuſtody. The earl, now ſeeing a furious ſpirit of faction raiſed againſt him, and aiming at his head, was not wanting to himſelf upon this emergency, but ſpoke to the following purpoſe: *I am accuſed*, ſays he, *for having made a peace; a peace, which, bad as it is now repreſented, has been approved by two ſucceſſive parliaments. For my own part, I always acted by the immediate directions and command of the queen, my miſtreſs, and never offended againſt any known law. I am juſtified in my own conſcience, and unconcerned for the life of an inſignificant old man. But I cannot, without the higheſt ingratitude, remain unconcerned for the beſt of queens; obligation binds me to vindicate her memory. My lords, if miniſters of ſtate, acting by the immediate commands of their ſovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may, one day or other, be the caſe of all the members of this auguſt aſſembly. I do not doubt therefore, that, out of regard to yourſelves, your lordſhips will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope that, in the proſecution of this enquiry, it will appear, that I have merited, not only the indulgence, but alſo the favour of this government. My lords, I am now to take my leave of your lordſhips, and of this honourable houſe, perhaps, for ever! I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure in a cauſe favoured by my late*

dear

dear royal miſtreſs. And when I conſider that I am to be judged by the juſtice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I ſhall acquieſce, and retire with great content. And, my lords, God's will be done! On his return from the houſe of lords to his own houſe, where he was for that night, permitted to go, he was followed by a great multitude of people, crying out, High-church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever! Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of his articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his anſwer. Though doctor Mead declared, that, if the earl ſhould be ſent to the Tower, his life would be in danger, it was carried that he ſhould be ſent there, whither he was attended by a prodigious concourſe of people, who did not ſcruple to exclaim againſt his proſecutors. Tumults grew more frequent; and this only ſerved to increaſe the ſeverity of the legiſlature. An act was made, decreeing, that, if any perſons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully aſſembled, ſhould continue together one hour, after being required to diſperſe by a juſtice of peace, or other officer, and heard the proclamation againſt riots read in public, they ſhould be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of the clergy. An act of this kind carries its own coment with it; legiſlators ſhould ever be averſe to enacting ſuch laws as leave the greateſt room for abuſe.

A committee was now appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence againſt him and the other impeached lords: he was confined in the Tower, and there remained for two years; during which time the kingdom was in a continual ferment, ſeveral other lords who had broke out into actual *A. D.* 1715.

rebellion, and were taken in arms, being executed for treaſon. The miniſtry ſeemed weary of executions; and he, with his uſual foreſight, preſented, upon this occaſion a petition for coming to his trial: a day was therefore aſſigned him. The commons appointed a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the earl's impeachment, and demanded a longer time to prepare for the trial. The truth is, they had now begun to relax in their former aſperity; and the intoxication of party was not quite ſo ſtrong as when he had been firſt committed. At the appointed time the peers repaired to the court in Weſtminſter-hall, where lord Cowper preſided as lord ſteward. The commons were aſſembled, and the king and royal family aſſiſted at the ſolemnity. The priſoner was brought from the Tower, and his articles of impeachment read, with his anſwers and the replies of the commons. Sir Joſeph Jekyl, one of the agents for the commons, ſtanding up to enforce the firſt article of his lordſhip's accuſation, one of the lords, adjourning the houſe, obſerved, that much time would be conſumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment; that nothing more remained than for the commons to make good the two articles of high-treaſon contained in his charge; and that this would at once determine the trial. His advice was agreed to by the lords; but the commons delivered a paper, containing their reaſons for aſſerting it as their undoubted right to carry on the impeachment in the manner they thought moſt conducive to their aim: on the other hand, the houſe of lords inſiſted on their former reſolution, conſidering it as the privilege of every judge to hear each cauſe in the manner he thinks moſt fitting. The diſpute grew ſtill more violent; a

meſſage

meſſage was at length ſent to the commons, intimating, that the lords intended to proceed immediately to the earl of Oxford's trial; and ſoon after repairing to the hall of juſtice, they took their places. The commons, however, did not think fit to appear; and the earl, having waited a quarter of an hour at the bar, was diſmiſſed for want of accuſers. To this diſpute, perhaps, he owed his ſafety, though it is probable they would have acquitted him of high-treaſon, as none of his actions could juſtly ſuffer ſuch an imputation. With the ſame acrimony proſecutions were carried on againſt lord Bolingbroke and the duke of Ormond; but they found ſafety in flight.

Such vindictive proceedings as theſe naturally excited indignation; the people groned to behold a few great ones cloſe up all the avenues to royal favour, and rule the nation with rigour and partiality. In Scotland the *A. D.* 1715. diſcontent broke forth, at length, into the flames of rebellion. The earl of Mar, aſſembling three hundred of his own vaſſals, in the Highlands of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender at Caſtletown, and ſet up his ſtandard at Brae Mar, on the ſixth day of September; then aſſuming the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, he exhorted the people to take arms in defence of their lawful ſovereign. But theſe preparations were weak, and ill conducted; all the deſigns of the rebels were betrayed to the government, the beginning of every revolt repreſſed, the weſtern countries prevented from riſing, and the moſt prudent precautions taken to keep all ſuſpected perſons in cuſtody, or in awe. The earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foſter took the field near the borders of Scotland; and, being joined by ſome gentle-

men, proclaimed the pretender. Their firſt attempt was to ſeize upon Newcaſtle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates ſhut upon them, and were obliged to retire to Hexham, while general Carpenter having aſſembled a body of dragoons, reſolved to attack them before their numbers were increaſed. The rebels had two methods of acting with ſucceſs; either marching immediately into the weſtern parts of Scotland and there joining general Gordon, who commanded a ſtrong body of Highlanders; or of croſſing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, whoſe forces did not exceed nine hundred men. From their uſual infatuation neither of theſe ſchemes were put into execution; for taking the rout another way, they left general Carpenter on one ſide, and reſolved to penetrate into England by the weſtern border. They accordingly advanced, without either foreſight or deſign, as far as Preſton, where they firſt heard the news that general Wills was marching at the head of ſix regiments of horſe, and a battalion of foot, to attack them. They now therefore began to raiſe barricadoes, and to put the place in a poſture of defence, repulſing at firſt the attack of the king's army with ſome ſucceſs. Next day, however, general Wills was reinforced by the troops under Carpenter, and the rebels were inveſted on all ſides. Foſter, their general, ſent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to the Engliſh commander, to propoſe a capitulation. This, however, general Wills refuſed, alledging that he would not treat with rebels; and that all they could expect was, to be ſpared from immediate ſlaughter. Theſe were hard terms; but they were obliged to ſubmit. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a

ſtrong

ſtrong guard Their leaders were ſecured, and led through London pinioned, and bound together, while the common men were confined at Cheſter and Liverpool.

While theſe unhappy circumſtances attended the rebels in England, the earl of Mar's forces, in the mean time, increaſed to the number of ten thouſand men, and he had made himſelf maſter of the whole county of Fife. Againſt him the duke of Argyll ſet out for Scotland, as commander in chief of the forces in North Britain; and, aſſembling ſome troops in Lothain, returned to Stirling with all poſſible expedition. The earl of Mar being informed of this, at firſt retreated, but being joined ſoon after by ſome clans under the earl of Seaforth, and others under general Gordon, who had ſignalized himſelf in the Ruſſian ſervice, he reſolved to march forward towards England. The duke of Argyll, apprized of his intention, and being joined by ſome regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblain, though his forces were by no means ſo numerous as thoſe of the rebel army. In the morning therefore of the ſame day on which the Preſton rebels had ſurrendered, he drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thouſand five hundred men, but found himſelf greatly outflanked by the enemy. The duke therefore perceiving the enemy making attempts to ſurround him, was obliged to alter his diſpoſition; which, on account of the ſcarcity of general officers, was not done ſo expeditiouſly as to be all formed before the rebels began the attack. The left wing therefore of the duke's army fell in with the centre of the enemy's, and ſupported the firſt charge without ſhrinking. This wing ſeemed, for a ſhort time,

victorious,

victorious, as they killed the chief leader of part of the rebel army. But Glengary who was ſecond in command, undertook to inſpire his intimidated forces; and, waving his bonnet, cried out ſeveral times, Revenge! This animated his men to ſuch a degree, that they followed him cloſe to the muzzles of the muſquets, puſhed aſide the bayonets with their targets, and with their broad ſwords did great execution. A total rout of that wing of the royal army enſued, and general Witham, their commander, flying full ſpeed to Stirling, gave out that all was loſt. In the mean time, the duke of Argyll, who commanded in perſon on the right, attacked the left of the enemy and drove them before him for two miles, though they often faced about, and attempted to rally. The duke, having thus entirely broke the left, and puſhed them over the river Allen, returned to the field, where he found that part of the rebel army which had been victorious; but, inſtead of renewing the engagement, both armies continued to gaze at each other, neither caring to attack; till towards evening both ſides drew off, each boaſting of victory. Whichever might claim the triumph, it muſt be owned, that all the honour, and all the advantages of the day, belonged only to the duke of Argyll. It was ſufficient for him to have interrupted the enemies progreſs; and delay was to them a defeat. The earl of Mar therefore ſoon found his diſappointments and loſſes increaſe. The caſtle of Invernes, of which he was in poſſeſſion, was delivered up to the king by lord Lovat, who had hitherto appeared in the intereſt of the pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine left the earl to defend his own country, and many of the clans, ſeeing no likelihood of coming ſoon to a ſecond engagement,

returned

returned home; for an irregular army is much eaſier led to battle, than induced to bear the fatigues of a campaign.

The pretender might now be convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in imagining that the whole country would riſe up in his cauſe. His affairs were actually deſperate; yet, with the uſual infatuation of the family, he reſolved to hazard his perſon among his friends in Scotland, at a time when ſuch a meaſure was totally uſeleſs. Paſſing therefore through France in diſguiſe, and embarking in a ſmall veſſel at Dunkirk, he arrived, on the twenty-ſecond day of December, on the coaſts of Scotland with only ſix gentlemen in his retinue. Upon his arrival in Aberdeen, he was ſolemnly proclaimed, and ſoon after made his public entry into Dundee. In two days more, he came to Scoon, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thankſgivings for his ſafe arrival; injoined the miniſters to pray for him in the churches; and, without the ſmalleſt ſhare of power, went through all the ceremonies of royalty, which were at ſuch a juncture, perfectly ridiculous. After this unimportant parade, he reſolved to abandon the enterpriſe with the ſame levity with which it had been undertaken, and embarked again for France, together with the earl of Mar, and ſome others, in a ſmall ſhip that lay in the harbour of Montroſe; and, in five days, arrived at Gravelin. General Gordon, who was left commander in chief of the forces, with the aſſiſtance of the earl-marſhal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he ſecured three veſſels to ſail northward, which took on board the perſons who intended to make their eſcape to the continent. In this manner the rebellion was ſuppreſſed; but the

fury

fury of the victors did nor ſeem in the leaſt to abate with ſucceſs. The law was now put in force, with all its terrors; and the priſons of London were crowded with thoſe deluded wretches, whom the miniſtry ſhewed no diſpoſition to ſpare. The commons, in their addreſs to the crown, declared they would proſecute, in the moſt vigorous manner, the authors of the rebellion; and their reſolutions were as ſpeedy as their meaſures were vindictive. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithiſdale, Carnwarth, and Wintown; the lords Widrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn, were impeached. The *habeas corpus* act was ſuſpended; and the rebel lords, upon pleading guilty, received ſentence of death. Nothing could ſoften the privy council; the houſe of lords even preſented an addreſs to the throne for mercy, but without effect. Orders were diſpatched for executing the earls of Derwentwater and Nithiſdale, and the viſcount Kenmuir, immediately; the others were reſpited for three weeks longer. Nithiſdale, however, eſcaped in woman's cloaths, which were brought him by his mother, the night before his intended execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought to the ſcaffold on Tower hill, at the hour appointed. Both underwent their ſentence with calmneſs and intrepidity, pitied by all, ſeemingly leſs moved themſelves than the ſpectators.

An act of parliament was alſo made for trying the private priſoners in London, and not in Lancaſhire, where they were taken in arms; which proceeding, was in ſome meaſure, an alteration of the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom; when Foſter, Mackintoſh, and ſeveral others, were found guilty. Foſter, however, eſcaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in ſafety; and ſome time

after

after alſo Mackintoſh, with ſome others, forced their way, having maſtered the keeper and turnkey, and diſarmed the centinel. Four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered; among whom was William Paul, a clergyman, who profeſſed himſelf a true and ſincere member of the church of England; but not of that ſchiſmatical church whoſe biſhops had abandoned their king. Such was the end of a rebellion, probably firſt inſpired by the rigour of the new whig miniſtry and parliament. In running through the viciſſitudes of human tranſactions, we too often find both ſides culpable; and ſo it was in this caſe. The royal party acted under the influences of partiality, rigour, and prejudice; gratified private animoſity under the maſk of public juſtice; and, in their pretended love of freedom, forgot humanity. On the other hand, the pretender's party aimed, not only at ſubverting the government, but the religion of the kingdom: bred a papiſt himſelf, he confided only in counſellors of his own perſuaſion; and moſt of thoſe who adhered to the cauſe, were men of indifferent morals, or biggoted principles. Clemency, however, in the government, at that time, would probably have extinguiſhed all the factious ſpirit which has hitherto diſturbed the peace of this country; for it has ever been the character of the Engliſh, that they are more eaſily led than driven into loyalty.

LETTER LIII.

IN a government ſo very complicated as that of England, it muſt neceſſarily change from itſelf, in a revolution of even a few years, as ſome of its

its weaker branches acquire ſtrength, or its ſtronger decline. At this period, the rich and noble ſeemed to poſſeſs a greater ſhare of power than they had done for ſome ages preceding; the houſe of commons became each day a ſtronger body, at once more independent on the crown and the people. It was now ſeen that the rich could at any time buy their election; and that while their laws governed the poor, they might be enabled to govern the law. The rebellion was now extinguiſhed; and the ſeverities which juſtice had inflicted, excited the diſcontent of many, whoſe humane paſſions were awakened as their fears began to ſubſide. This ſerved as a pretext for continuing the parliament, and repealing the act by which they were to be diſſolved at the expiration of every third year. An act of this nature, by which a parliament thus extended their own power, was thought by many the ready means of undermining the conſtitution; for if they could with impunity extend their continuance for ſeven years, which was the time propoſed, they could alſo for life continue their power; but this, it was obſerved, was utterly incompatible with the ſpirit of legiſlation. The bill, however, paſſed both houſes; all objections to it were conſidered as diſaffection; and, in a ſhort time, it received the royal ſanction. The people might murmur at this encroachment; but it was now too late for redreſs.

Domeſtic concerns being thus adjuſted, the king began to turn his thoughts to his Hanoverian dominions, and determined upon a voyage to the continent. Nor was he without his fears for his dominions there, as Charles XII. of Sweden profeſſed the higheſt diſpleaſure at his having entered into a confederacy againſt him in his abſence.

Having

Having therefore paſſed through Holland to Hanover, in order to ſecure his German territories, he entered into a treaty with the Dutch and the regent of France, by which they promiſed mutually to aſſiſt each other in caſe of invaſion; but the death of the Swediſh monarch, who was killed by a cannon-ball at the ſiege of Frederickſtadt, ſoon put an end to his diſquietudes from that quarter. However, his majeſty, to ſecure himſelf, as far as alliances could add to his ſafety, entered into various negotiations with the different powers of Europe; ſome were brought to accede by money, others by promiſes. Treaties of this kind ſeldom give any real ſecurity: they may be conſidered as mere political playthings; they amuſe for a while, and then are thrown neglected by, never more to be heard of, as nothing but its own internal ſtrength can guard a country from inſult.

Among other treaties concluded with ſuch intentions, was that called the *Quadruple Alliance.* It was agreed upon, between the Emperor, France, England, and Holland, that the emperor ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the duke of Savoy: that the ſucceſſion to the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, ſhould be ſettled on the queen of Spain's eldeſt ſon, in caſe the preſent poſſeſſors ſhould die without male iſſue. This treaty was by no means favourable to the intereſts of England, as it interrupted the commerce with Spain; and as it deſtroyed the balance of power in Italy, by throwing too much into the hands of Auſtria. However, England fitted out a ſtrong ſquadron in order to bring Spain to terms, if that kingdom ſhould inſiſt upon its rights in Italy. The war between the emperor and the king of Spain was

actually

actually begun in that country; and the mediation of the king of England was rejected, as partial and unjuſt. It was therefore reſolved by the court of London to ſupport its negotiations with the ſtrongeſt reaſons; namely, thoſe of war. Sir George Byng ſailed to Naples with twenty two ſhips of the line, where he was received as a deliverer, that city having been under the utmoſt terrors of an invaſion from Spain. Here the Engliſh admiral received intelligence, that the Spaniſh army amounting to thirty thouſand men, had landed in Sicily; wherefore he immediately determined to ſail thither, fully reſolved to purſue the Spaniſh fleet. Upon doubling Cape Faro, he perceived two ſmall Spaniſh veſſels, and purſuing them cloſely, they led him to their main fleet, which, before noon, he perceived in line of battle, amounting, in all, to twenty-ſeven ſail. At ſight of the Engliſh, the Spaniſh fleet, though ſuperior in numbers, attempted to ſail away, as the Engliſh had, for ſome time, acquired ſuch expertneſs in naval affairs, that no other nation would venture to face them, except with manifeſt diſadvantage. The Spaniards ſeemed diſtracted in their councils, and acted with extreme confuſion: they made a running fight; but, notwithſtanding what they could do, all but three were taken. The admiral, during this engagement, acted with equal prudence and reſolution; and the king wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. This victory neceſſarily produced the reſentment and complaints of the Spaniſh miniſters at all the courts of Europe, which induced England to declare war with Spain; and the regent of France joined England in a ſimilar declaration. The duke of Ormond now,

A. D. 1718.

once

once more, hoped, by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, to restore the pretender in England: he accordingly set sail with some troops, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, where his fleet was dispersed and disabled by a violent storm, which entirely frustrated the armament; and, from that time, the pretender seemed to lose all hopes of being received in England. This blow of fortune, together with the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily and elsewhere, once more induced them to wish for peace; and the king of Spain was at last contented to sign the quadruple alliance.

King George having thus, with equal vigour and deliberation, surmounted all the obstacles he met with in his way to the throne, and used every precaution that sagacity could suggest for securing himself in it, again returned to England, where the addresses from both houses were as loyal as he could expect. From addressing they turned to an object of the greatest importance; namely, that of securing the dependency of the Irish parliament upon that of Great Britain. Maurice Annesley had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree of the house of peers in Ireland; which was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order, and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having attempted to diminish the just privileges of the parliament of Ireland; and, at the same time, ordered the barons to be taken under the custody of the black rod. On the other hand, the house of lords in England resolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with cou-

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rage and fidelity; and addreſſed the king to ſignify his approbation of their conduct, by ſome marks of his favour. To complete their intention, a bill was prepared, by which the Iriſh houſe of lords was deprived of all right of final juriſdiction. This was oppoſed in both houſes. In the lower houſe Mr. Pitt aſſerted, that it would only increaſe the power of the Engliſh peers, who already had too much. Mr. Hungerford demonſtrated that the Iriſh lords had always exerted their power of finally deciding cauſes. The duke of Leeds produced fifteen reaſons againſt the bill; but, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, it was carried by a great majority, and received the royal aſſent. The kingdom of Ireland was not at that time, ſo well acquainted with the nature of liberty, and its own conſtitution, as it is at preſent. Their houſe of lords might then conſiſt moſtly of men bred up in luxury and ignorance; neither ſpirited enough to make oppoſition, nor ſkilful enough to conduct it.

But this blow, which the Iriſh felt ſeverely, was not ſo great as that which England now began to ſuffer from that ſpirit of avarice and chicanery which had infected almoſt all ranks of people. In the year 1720, John Law, a Scotſman, had erected a company in France under the name of the Miſſiſippi; which at firſt promiſed the deluded people immenſe wealth, but too ſoon appeared an impoſture, and left the greateſt part of that nation in ruin and diſtreſs. The *A. D.* 1721. year following, the people of England were deceived by juſt ſuch another project, which is remembered by all by the name of the South-Sea ſcheme; and to this day felt by thouſands. To explain this as conciſely as poſſible, it is to be obſerved, that, ever ſince the revolution,

tion, the government not having ſufficient ſupplies granted by parliament; or, what was granted requiring time to be collected; they were obliged to borrow money from ſeveral different companies of merchants, and, among the reſt, from that company which traded to the South Sea. In the year 1716, they were indebted to this company about nine millions and an half of money, for which they granted annually at the rate of ſix *per cent.* intereſt. As this company was not the only one to which the government was debtor, and paid ſuch large intereſt yearly, Sir Robert Walpole conceived a deſign of leſſening theſe national debts, by giving the ſeveral companies an alternative, either of accepting a lower intereſt, namely, five *per cent.* for their money, or of being paid the principal. The different companies choſe rather to accept of the diminiſhed intereſt than the capital; and the South-Sea company, accordingly, having made up their debt to the government ten millions, inſtead of ſix hundred thouſand pounds which they uſually received as intereſt, were ſatisfied with five hundred thouſand. In the ſame manner the governors and company of the bank, and other companies, were contented to receive a diminiſhed annuity for their ſeveral loans, all which greatly leſſened the debts of the nation. It was in this ſituation of things that Sir John Blount, who had been bred a ſcrivener, and was poſſeſſed of all the cunning and plauſibility requiſite for ſuch an undertaking, propoſed to the miniſtry, in the name of the South-Sea company, to leſſen the national debt ſtill farther, by permitting the South-Sea company to buy up all the debts of the different companies, and thus to become the principal creditor of the ſtate. The terms offered the govern-

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ment were extremely advantageous. The South-Sea company was to redeem the debts of the nation out of the hands of the private proprietors, who were creditors to the government, upon whatever terms they could agree on; and, for the intereſt of this money, which they had thus redeemed, and taken into their own hands, they would be contented to be allowed for ſix years five *per cent.* and then the intereſt ſhould be reduced to four *per cent.* and be redeemable by parliament. For theſe purpoſes a bill paſſed both houſes; and as the directors of the South-Sea company could not of themſelves alone be ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed of money ſufficient to buy up theſe debts of the government, they were empowered to raiſe it by opening a ſubſcription, and granting annuities to ſuch proprietors as ſhould think proper to exchange their creditors; namely, the crown for the South-Sea company, with the advantages that might be made by their induſtry. The ſuperior advantages with which theſe proprietors were flattered, by thus exchanging their property in the government funds for South-Sea company ſtock, were a chimerical proſpect of having their money turned to great advantage, by a commerce to the ſouthern parts of America, where it was reported that the Engliſh were to have ſome new ſettlements granted them by the king of Spain. The directors books therefore were no ſooner opened for the firſt ſubſcription, but crowds came to make the exchange: the deluſion ſpread; ſubſcriptions in a few days ſold for double the price they had been bought for. The ſcheme ſucceeded, and the whole nation was infected with a ſpirit of avaritious enterpriſe. The infatuation prevailed; the ſtock increaſed to a ſurpriſing degree; but, after a few months, the

people

people awaked from their delirium; they found that all the advantages to be expected were merely imaginary, and an infinite number of families were involved in ruin. Many of the directors, whose arts had raiſed theſe vain expectations, had amaſſed ſurpriſing fortunes: it was, however, one conſolation to the nation to find the parliament ſtripping them of their ill-acquired wealth; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-Sea company from their ſeats in the houſe of commons, or the places they poſſeſſed under the government. The delinquents being puniſhed by a forfeiture of their eſtates, the parliament next converted its attention toward redreſſing the ſufferers. Several uſeful and juſt reſolutions were taken, and a bill was ſpeedily prepared for repairing the miſchief. Of the profits ariſing from the South Sea ſcheme, the ſum of ſeven millions was granted to the ancient proprietors; ſeveral additions alſo were made to their dividends out of what was poſſeſſed by the company in their own right; the remaining capital ſtock alſo was divided among all the proprietors at the rate of thirty-three pounds *per cent.* In the mean time petitions from all parts of the kingdom were preſented to the houſe, demanding juſtice; and the whole nation ſeemed exaſperated to the higheſt degree. During theſe tranſactions, the king, with ſerenity and wiſdom, preſided at the helm, influenced his parliament to purſue equitable meaſures, and, by his councils, endeavoured to reſtore the credit of the nation.

The diſcontents occaſioned by theſe public calamities, once more gave the diſaffected party hopes of riſing; but in all their councils they were weak, divided, and wavering. Their preſent deſigns, therefore, could not eſcape the vigi-

lance of the king, who had emiſſaries in every court, and who had made, by his alliances, every potentate a friend to his cauſe. He was therefore informed, by the duke of Orleans, regent of France, of a new conſpiracy againſt him by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, which poſtponed his intended journey to Hanover. Among thoſe againſt whom the moſt poſitive evidence was obtained, was Mr. Chriſtopher Layer, a young gentle-
A. D. 1722. man of the Middle Temple. He was convicted of having inliſted men for the pretender's ſervice, and received ſentence of death; which he underwent, after having been often examined, and having ſtrenuouſly refuſed, to the laſt, to diſcover his accomplices. He was the only perſon who ſuffered death upon this occaſion; but ſeveral noblemen of high diſtinction were made priſoners upon ſuſpicion. The duke of Norfolk, the biſhop of Rocheſter, lord Orrery, and lord North and Grey, were of this number. Of theſe, all but the biſhop of Rocheſter came off without puniſhment, the circumſtances not being ſufficient againſt them for conviction. A bill was brought into the houſe of commons againſt him, although a peer; and though it met with ſome oppoſition, yet it was reſolved by a great majority, that he ſhould be deprived of his office and benefice, and baniſhed the kingdom for ever. The biſhop made no defence in the lower houſe, reſerving all his power to be exerted in the houſe of lords. In that aſſembly he had many friends; his eloquence, politeneſs, and ingenuity, had procured him many; and his cauſe being heard, a long and warm debate was the conſequence. As there was little againſt him but intercepted letters, which were written in cypher, the earl Pawlet inſiſted

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on the danger and injuſtice of departing, in ſuch caſes, from the fixed rules of evidence. The duke of Wharton, having ſummed up the depoſitions, and ſhewn the inſufficiency of them, concluded with ſaying, That, let the conſequences be what they would, he hoped the luſtre of that houſe would be never tarniſhed, by condemning a man without evidence. The lord Bathurſt ſpoke alſo againſt the bill, obſerving, That, if ſuch extraordinary proccedings were countenanced, he ſaw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates within their own families, ſince the leaſt correſpondence, or intercepted letter, might be made criminal. Then turning to the biſhops, he ſaid, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice ſome perſons bore the ingenious biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs it was, that they were infatuated like the wild Americans, who fondly believed they inherit, not only the ſpoils, but even the abilities of any man they deſtroy. The earl of Stafford ſpoke on the ſame ſide; as alſo lord Trevor, who obſerved, That, if men were in this unprecedented manner proceeded againſt, without legal proof, in a ſhort time the miniſter's favour would be the ſubject's only protection; but that for himſelf, no apprehenſions of what he might ſuffer would deter him from doing his duty. He was anſwered by lord Seafield, who endeavoured to ſhew, that the evidence which had been produced before them was ſufficient to convince any reaſonable man; and in this he was ſupported by the duke of Argyll and lord Lechmere. To theſe lord Cowper replied, That the ſtrongeſt argument urged in behalf of the bill, was neceſſity; but, for his part,

he could ſee nothing that could juſtify ſuch unprecedented, and ſuch dangerous proceedings. The other party, however, ſaid little in anſwer; perhaps already ſenſible of a majority in their favour. The bill was paſſed againſt the biſhop, and ſeveral lords entered their proteſt. Among the members in the houſe of commons, who had exerted themſelves moſt ſtrenuouſly in the biſhop's favour, was doctor Freind, the celebrated phyſician; and he was now taken into cuſtody on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices. He was ſoon after, however, admitted to bail, his friend doctor Mead becoming his ſecurity. In two days after the biſhop of Rocheſter embarked for baniſhment, accompanied with his daughter; and, on the ſame day that he landed at Calais, the famous lord Bolingbroke arrived there, in his return to England, having obtained his majeſty's pardon: upon which the biſhop, ſmiling, ſaid, *His lordſhip and I are exchanged.* In this manner the biſhop continued in exile and poverty till he died; though it may not be improper to obſerve, that doctor Sacheverel left him, by will, five hundred pounds.

Few tranſactions of importance happened during the remainder of this reign: the miniſtry were employed in making various and expenſive negotiations, and covenants made without faith, and only obſerved from motives of intereſt or fear. The parliament made alſo ſome efforts to check the progreſs of vice and immorality, which now began to be diffuſed through every rank of life: luxury and profligacy had increaſed to a ſurpriſing degree; nor were there any tranſactions to fill the page of hiſtory, except the mercenary ſchemes of vile projectors, or the taſteleſs profuſion of new-made opulence. The treaties lately concluded with

Spain

Spain were again broken, perhaps by every party: admiral Hoſier was ſent to intercept the Spaniſh galleons from America, of which the Spaniards being apprized, remanded back their treaſure; and the greateſt part of the Engliſh fleet, ſent on this errand, was rendered, by the worms, entirely unfit for ſervice, and the men were cut off by the unhealty climate and long voyage. To retaliate this, the Spaniards undertook the ſiege of Gibraltar, and with ſimilar ſucceſs. New treaties were ſet on foot; France offered its mediation; and ſuch a reconciliation as treaties could procure was the conſequence. *A. D.* 1726.

The king had not now, for two years, viſited his German dominions; and therefore, ſoon after the breaking up of parliament, he prepared for a journey to Hanover. Accordingly, having appointed an adminiſtration in his abſence, he embarked for Holland; lay, upon his landing, at the little town of Vert; next day proceeded on his journey; and, in two days more, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, in all appearance in perfect health. He ſupped there very heartily, and continued his progreſs early the next morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to ſtop, and, it being perceived that one of his hands lay montionleſs, monſieur Fabrice, who had formerly been the ſervant of the king of Sweden, and now attended king George, chafed it between his. As this had no effect, the ſurgeon was called, who followed on horſeback, and alſo rubbed it with ſpirits: ſoon after the king's tongue began to ſwell, and he had juſt force enough to bid them haſten to Oſnaburg; and, falling into Fabrice's arms, quite inſenſible, never recovered, but expired about eleven o'clock the next morn-

ing. He died on Sunday the eleventh of June, 1727, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. Whatever was good or great in the reign of George I. ought to be attributed wholly to himſelf; whenever he deviated, it might juſtly be imputed to a miniſtry always partial, and often corrupt. He was almoſt ever attended with good fortune, which was partly owing to prudence, and more to aſſiduity. In ſhort, his ſucceſſes are the ſtrongeſt inſtance of how much may be atchieved by moderate abilities exerted with application and uniformity.

LETTER LIV.

I Have not hitherto ſaid any thing of the literature of the preſent period, having reſolved to refer it to a ſeparate letter, in which we may have a more perſpicuous view of it than if blended with the ordinary occurrences of the ſtate. Though learning had never received fewer encouragements than in the preſent reign, yet it never flouriſhed more. That ſpirit of philoſophy which had been excited in former ages, ſtill continued to operate with the greateſt ſucceſs, and produced the greateſt men in every profeſſion. Among the divines, Atterbury and Clarke diſtinguiſhed themſelves. As a preacher, Atterbury united all the graces of ſtyle with all the elegance of a juſt delivery; he was natural, polite, ſpirited; and his ſermons may be ranked among the firſt of this period. Clarke, on the other hand, deſpiſing the graces of eloquence, only ſought after conviction, with rigorous though phlegmatic exactneſs, and brought moral truths almoſt to mathematical preciſion. Yet neither he,

Cudworth,

Cudworth, nor any other divine, did ſuch ſervice to the reaſoning world, as the great Mr. John Locke, who may be juſtly ſaid to have reformed all our modes of thinking in metaphyſical inquiry. Though the jargon of ſchools had been before him arraigned, yet ſeveral of their errors had ſtill ſubſiſted, and were regarded as true. Locke therefore ſet himſelf to overturn their ſyſtems, and refute their abſurdities: theſe he effectually accompliſhed; for which reaſons his book, which, when publiſhed, was of infinite ſervice, may be found leſs uſeful at preſent, when the doctrines it was calculated to refute are no longer ſubſiſting.

Among the moral writers of this period, the earl of Shafteſbury is not to be paſſed over, whoſe elegance, in ſome meaſure, recompences for his want of ſolidity. The opinions of all latter writers upon moral ſubjects are only derived from the ancients. Morals are a ſubject on which the induſtry of man has been exerciſed in every age; and an infinite number of ſyſtems have been the reſult. That of Shafteſbury, in which he eſtabliſhes a natural ſenſe of moral beauty, was originally profeſſed by Plato, and only adorned by the Engliſh philoſopher.

This ſeemed to be the age of ſpeculation. Berkeley, afterwards Biſhop of Cloyne, in Ireland, ſurpaſſed all his cotemporaries in ſubtlety of diſquiſition; but the mere efforts of reaſon, which are exerted rather to raiſe doubt than procure certainty, will never meet with much favour from ſo vain a being as man.

Lord Bolingbroke had alſo ſome reputation for metaphyſical inquiry: his friends extolled his ſagacity on that head, and the public were willing enough to acquieſce in their opinion; his fame

therefore might have continued to rise, or, at least, would have never sunk, if he had never published. His works have appeared, and the public are no longer in their former sentiments.

In mathematics and natural philosophy, the vein opened by Newton was prosecuted with success: doctor Halley illustrated the theory of the tides, and increased the catalogue of the stars; while Gregory reduced astronomy to one comprehensive and regular system.

Doctor Freind, in medicine, produced some ingenious theories, which, if they did not improve the art, at least shewed his abilities and learning in his profession. Doctor Mead was equally elegant, and more successful; to him is owing the useful improvement of tapping in the dropsy, by means of a swathe.

But, of all the other arts, poetry in this age was carried to the greatest perfection. The language, for some ages, had been improving, but now seemed entirely divested of its roughness and barbarity. Among the poets of this period we may place John Phillips, author of several poems, but of none more admired than that humourous one, intitled *The Splendid Shilling*: he lived in obscurity, and died just above want. William Congreve deserves also particular notice: his comedies, some of which were but coolly received upon their first appearance, seemed to mend upon repetition; and he is, at present, justly allowed the foremost in that species of dramatic poesy: his wit is ever just and brilliant; his sentiments new and lively; and his elegance equal to his regularity. Next him Vanburg is placed, whose humour seems more natural, and characters more new; but he owes too many obligations to the French entirely to pass for an original;

ginal; and his total diſregard of decency, in a great meaſure, impairs his merit. Farquhar is ſtill more lively, and, perhaps, more entertaining than either: his pieces continue the favourite performances of the ſtage, and bear frequent repitition without ſatiety; but he often miſtakes pertneſs for wit, and ſeldom ſtrikes his characters with proper force or originality. However, he died very young; and it is remarkable, that he continued to improve as he grew older; his laſt play, intitled *The Beaux Stratagem*, being the beſt of his productions. Addiſon, both as a poet and proſe writer, deſerves the higheſt regard and imitation. His Campaign, and Letter to lord Halifax from Italy, are maſter-pieces in the former, and his eſſays publiſhed in the Spectator are inimitable ſpecimens of the latter. Whatever he treated of was handled with elegance and preciſion; and that virtue which was taught in his writings, was enforced by his example. Steele was Addiſon's friend and admirer: his comedies are perfectly polite, chaſte, and genteel; nor were his other works contemptible: he wrote on ſeveral ſubjects, and yet it is amazing, in the multiplicity of his purſuits, how he found leiſure for the diſcuſſion of any; ever perſecuted by creditors, whom his profuſeneſs drew upon him, or purſuing impracticable ſchemes, ſuggeſted by ill-grounded ambition. Dean Swift was the profeſſed antagoniſt of both Addiſon and him. He perceived that there was a ſpirit of romance mixed with all the works of the poets who preceded him; or, in other words, that they had drawn nature on the moſt pleaſing ſide. There ſtill therefore was a place left for him, who, careleſs of cenſure, ſhould deſcribe it juſt as it was, with all its deformities; he therefore owes much of his fame, not ſo much

to the greatneſs of his genius, as to the boldneſs of it. He was dry, ſarcaſtic, and ſevere; and ſuited his ſtyle exactly to the turn of his thought, being conciſe and nervous. In this period alſo flouriſhed many of ſubordinate fame. Prior was the firſt who adopted the French elegant eaſy manner of telling a ſtory; but if what he has borrowed from that nation be taken from him, ſcarce any thing will be left upon which he can lay claim ro applauſe in poetry. Rowe was only outdone by Shakeſpear and Otway as a tragic writer: he has fewer abſurdities than either, and is, perhaps, as pathetic as they; but his flights are not ſo bold, nor his characters ſo ſtrongly marked. Perhaps his coming later than the reſt may have contributed to leſſen the eſteem he deſerves. Garth had ſucceſs as a poet; and, for a time, his fame was even greater than his deſert. In his principal work, the Diſpenſary, his verſification is negligent, and his plot is now become tedious; but whatever he may loſe as a poet, it would be improper to rob him of the merit he deſerves for having written the proſe dedication, and preface, to the poem already mentioned, in which he has ſhewn the trueſt wit, with the moſt refined elegance. Parnel, though he has written but one poem, namely the Hermit, yet has found a place among the Engliſh firſt-rate poets. Gay, likewiſe, by his Fables and Paſtorals, has acquired an equal reputation. But of all who have added to the ſtock of Engliſh poetry, Pope, perhaps, deſerves the firſt place. On him foreigners look as one of the moſt ſucceſsful writers of his time: his verſification is the moſt harmonious, and his correctneſs the moſt remarkable, of all our poets. A noted cotemporary of his own, calls the Engliſh the fineſt writers

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on moral topics, and Pope the nobleſt moral writer of all the Engliſh. Mr. Pope has ſomewhere named himſelf the laſt Engliſh muſe; and, indeed, ſince his time, we have ſeen ſcarce any production that can juſtly lay claim to immortality: he carried the language to its higheſt perfection; and thoſe who have attempted ſtill farther to improve it, inſtead of ornament, have only caught finery.

Such was the learning of this period; it flouriſhed without encouragement, and the Engliſh taſte ſeemed to diffuſe itſelf over all Europe. The French tragedies began to be written after the model of ours; our philoſophy was adopted by all who pretended to reaſon for themſelves. At preſent, however, when the learned of Europe are turned to the Engliſh writers for inſtruction, all ſpirit of learning has ceaſed among us. So little has been got by literature for more than an age, that none chooſe to turn to it for preferment. Church preferments, which were once given as the rewards of learning, have, for ſome time, deviated to the intriguing, venal, and baſe. All deſire of novelty, in thinking, is ſuppreſſed amongſt us; and our ſcholars, more pleaſed with ſecurity and eaſe than honour, coolly follow the reaſonings of their predeceſſors, and walk round the circle of former diſcovery.

LETTER LV.

UPON the death of George I. his ſon George II. aſcended the throne; of inferior abilities to the late king, and conſequently ſtill more ſtrongly attached to his dominions on the continent. The various ſubſides that had been in the laſt reign granted to maintain foreign connexions, were ſtill kept up in this; and the late ſyſtem of politics underwent no ſort of alteration. The rights and privileges of the throne of England were, in general, committed to the miniſter's care; the royal concern being chiefly fixed upon balancing the German powers, and gaining an aſcendancy for the elector of Hanover in the empire. The miniſtry was, at firſt, divided between lord Townſhend, a man of extenſive knowledge; the earl of Cheſterfield, the only man of genious employed under this government; and Sir Robert Walpole, who ſoon after engroſſed the greateſt ſhare of the adminiſtration to himſelf.

A. D. 1727.

Sir Robert Walpole, who is to make the principle figure in the preſent reign, had, from low beginnings, raiſed himſelf to the head of the treaſury. Strongly attached to the houſe of Hanover, and ſerving it at times when it wanted his aſſiſtance, he ſtill maintained the prejudices with which he ſet out; and unaware of the alteration of ſentiments in the nation, ſtill attempted to govern by party. He, probably, like every other miniſter, began by endeavouring to ſerve his country; but meeting with ſtrong oppoſition, his ſucceeding endeavours were rather employed in maintaining his poſt than of being ſerviceable in it. The declining

ing prerogative of the crown might have been an early object of his attention; but, in the ſequel, thoſe very meaſures which he took to increaſe it, proved to be the moſt effectual means of undermining it. As lately all his aims were turned only to ſerve himſelf and his friends, he undertook to make a majority in the houſe of commons, by bribing the members: and, what was ſtill worſe, avowed the corruption. As all ſpirit of integrity was now laughed out of the kingdom; and as the people were held to duty by no motives of religious obedience to the throne, patriotiſm was ridiculed, and venality practiſed without ſhame. As ſuch a diſpoſition of things naturally produced oppoſition, Sir Robert was poſſeſſed of a moſt phlegmatic inſenſibility to bear reproach, and a calm diſpaſſionate way of reaſoning upon ſuch topics as he deſired to enforce. His diſcourſe was fluent without eloquence; and his reaſons convincing, without any ſhare of elevation.

The houſe of commons, which in the preceding reign, had been diſtinguiſhed into whigs and jacobites, now underwent another change, and was again divided into the court and country party. The court party were for favouring all the ſchemes of the miniſtry, and applauding all the meaſures of the crown. They regarded foreign alliances as conducive to internal ſecurity; and paid the troops of other countries for their promiſes of future aſſiſtance. Of theſe Sir Robert was the leader; and ſuch as he could not convince by his eloquence, he undertook to buy over by places and penſions. The other ſide, who called themſelves the country party, were entirely averſe to continental connections: they complained that immenſe ſums were laviſhed on ſubſidies which could never be

uſeful; and that alliances were bought with money, which ſhould be only rewarded by a reciprocation of good intentions. Theſe looked upon the frequent journies of the king to his electorial dominions with a jealous eye, and ſometimes hinted at the alienation of the royal affections from England. Moſt of theſe had been ſtrong aſſertors of the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and not fearing the reproach of jacobitiſm, they ſpoke with ſtill greater boldneſs. As the court party generally threatened the houſe of commons with imaginary dangers to the ſtate; ſo theſe of the country uſually declaimed againſt the encroachments of the prerogative. The threats of neither were founded in truth; the kingdom was in no danger from abroad; nor was internal liberty in the leaſt infringed by the crown. On the contrary, thoſe who viewed the ſtate with an unprejudiced eye, were of opinion, that the prerogatives of the crown, were the only part of the conſtitution that was growing every day weaker; that, while the king's thoughts were turned to foreign concerns, the miniſtry were unmindful of his authority at home; and that every day the government was making haſty ſteps to an ariſtocracy, the worſt of all governments. As Walpole headed the court party, ſo the leaders of the oppoſite ſide were Mr. William Pitt, Mr. Shippen, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Hungerford.

The great objects of controverſy during this reign, were the national debt, and the number of forces to be kept in pay. The government, at the acceſſion of the preſent monarch, owed more than thirty millions of money; and, though it was a time of profound peace, yet this ſum was continually found to increaſe. To pay off this, the

miniſtry

miniſtry propoſed many projects, and put ſome into execution; but what could be expected from a ſet of men, who made the public wealth only ſubſervient to private intereſt, and who grew powerful on the wrecks of their country? Demands for new ſupplies were made every ſeſſion of parliament, either for the purpoſes of ſecuring friends upon the continent, of guarding the internal polity, or for enabling the miniſtry to act vigorouſly in conjunction with their allies abroad. Theſe were as regularly oppoſed as made: the ſpeakers of the country party ever inſiſted, that the Engliſh had no buſineſs to embroil themſelves with the affairs of the continent; that expences were incurred without prudence or neceſſity; and that the increaſe of the national debt, by multiplying taxes, would at length become intolerable to the people. Whatever reaſon there might be in ſuch arguments, they were, notwithſtanding, conſtantly over-ruled; and every demand granted with pleaſure and profuſion.

All theſe treaties and alliances, however, in which the kingdom had been lately involved, ſeemed no way productive of the general tranquillity expected from them. The Spaniards, who had never been thoroughly reconciled, ſtill continued their depredations, and plundered the Engliſh merchants upon the ſouthern coaſts of America, as if they had been pirates. This was the reign of negotiations; and from theſe alone, the miniſtry promiſed themſelves and the nation redreſs. Still, however, the enemy went on to inſult and ſeize, regardleſs of our vain expoſtulations. *A. D.* 1728.
The Britiſh merchants complained, by petition, of the loſſes ſuſtained by the Spaniards; and the houſe of commons deliberated upon

upon this ſubject. They examined the evidence, and preſented an addreſs to his majeſty. He promiſed them all poſſible ſatisfaction, and negotiations were begun as formerly, and a new treaty was ſigned at Vienna between the emperor and the kings of Great Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former. Though ſuch tranſactions did not give the ſecurity that was expected from them, yet they, in ſome meaſure, put off the troubles of Europe for a time. An interval of peace ſucceeded, in which ſcarce any events happened that deſerve the remembrance of an hiſtorian: ſuch intervals are, however, the periods of happineſs to a people: for hiſtory is too often but the regiſter of human calamities. By this treaty at Vienna the king of England conceived hopes that the peace of Europe was eſtabliſhed upon the moſt laſting foundation. Don Carlos, upon the death of the duke of Parma, was, by the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh fleet, put in peaceable poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia. Six thouſand Spaniards were quietly admitted, and quartered in the duchy of Tuſcany, to ſecure for him the reverſion of that dukedom. Thus we ſee Europe, in ſome meaſure, reſembling a republic, putting monarchs into new kingdoms, and depriving others of their ſucceſſion by an univerſal concurrence. But this amicable diſpoſition among the great powers could never continue long; and the republic of Europe muſt be but an empty name, until there be ſome controlling power ſet up by univerſal conſent, to enforce obedience to the law of nations.

During this interval of profound peace, nothing remarkable happened, except the conſtant diſputations in the houſe of commons, where the con-

teſts

teſts between the court and country party were carried on with the greateſt acrimony, the ſpeeches on either ſide being dictated leſs by reaſon than reſentment. A calm, unintereſted reader is now ſurpriſed at the heat with which many ſubjects, of little importance in themſelves, were diſcuſſed at that time; he now ſmiles at thoſe denunciations of ruin with which their orations are replete. The truth is, the liberty of a nation is better ſupported by the oppoſition, than by what is ſaid in the oppoſition.

In times of profound tranquillity the ſlighteſt occurrences become objects of univerſal attention. A ſociety of men, intitled *The Charitable Corporation*, excited the indignation of the public. Their profeſſed intention was, to lend money at legal intereſt to the poor, upon ſmall pledges; and to perſons of better rank, upon proper ſecurity. Their capital was at firſt limited to thirty thouſand pounds; but they afterwards increaſed it to ſix hundred thouſand. This money was granted in by ſubſcription; and the care of conducting the capital was intruſted to a proper number of directors. This company, having continued for more than twenty years, the caſhier, George Robinſon, and the warehouſekeeper of the company, diſappeared in one day. Five hundred thouſand pounds of the capital appeared to be ſunk and embezzled by the directors, in a manner the proprietors could not account for. They therefore petitioned the houſe, repreſenting the manner in which they had been defrauded of ſuch vaſt ſums of money, and the diſtreſs to which many were reduced, in conſequence of ſuch impoſition. The petition was received, and a ſecret committee appointed to enquire into the grievance. They ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of

fraud,

fraud, which had been carried on by Thomſon and Robinſon, in concert with ſome of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many perſons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conſpiracy; even ſome of the firſt characters in the nation did not eſcape without cenſure. The houſe of commons declared their reſentment, and expelled one or two of their members; but the ſufferers met with ſcarce any redreſs. Nor can I mention ſuch a circumſtance without reflecting on that ſpirit of rapacity and avarice which infected every degree of people. An ill example in the governing part of a country ever diffuſes itſelf downward; and while the miniſtry do not bluſh at detection, the people of every rank will not fear guilt. About this time not leſs than five members of parliament were expelled for the moſt ſordid acts of knavery; Sir Robert Sutton, Sir Archibald Grant, and George Robinſon, for their frauds in the management of the *Charitable Corporation* ſcheme; Dennis Bond, eſquire, and ſerjeant Burch, for a fraudulent ſale of the late earl of Derwentwater's forfeited eſtates. Luxury had produced prodigality, the ſure parent of every meanneſs. It was even aſſerted in the houſe of lords, that not one ſhilling of the forfeited eſtates was ever applied to the ſervice of the public, but became the reward of avarice and venality.

Another occurrence of a more private nature about this time excited public compaſſion, not without a degree of horror: Richard Smith, a book-binder, and his wife, had long lived together, and ſtruggled with thoſe wants, which, notwithſtanding the profuſion of the rich at this time, oppreſſed the poor. Their mutual tenderneſs for

each

each other was the only comfort they had in their diſtreſſes, which diſtreſſes were increaſed by having a child, which they knew not how to maintain. At length they took the deſperate reſolution of dying by their own hands; the child's throat was cut, and the huſband and wife were found hanging in their bed-chamber. They left a letter behind, containing the reaſons which induced them to this act of deſperation: they declared, that they could no longer ſupport a life of ſuch complicated wretchedneſs; and thought it tenderneſs to take their child with them from a world where they themſelves had found no compaſſion. Suicide, in many inſtances, is aſcribed to phrenzy: we have here an inſtance of ſelf-murder, concerted with compoſure, and borrowing the aids of reaſon for its vindication.

LETTER LVI.

THE hiſtory of England has little during this interval to excite curioſity. The debates in parliament grew every day more obſtinate, as every ſubject happened to come round in voting the annual ſupplies; but as the ſubjects were moſtly the ſame, ſo alſo were the arguments. There was one, however, of a different nature from thoſe in the uſual courſe of buſineſs, which was laboured for ſtrenuouſly by the miniſtry, and as warmly oppoſed by their antagoniſts, namely, the exciſe bill, which Sir Robert Walpole introduced into the houſe, by firſt declaiming againſt the frauds practiſed by the factors in London, who were employed by the American planters in ſelling their tobacco. To prevent theſe *A. D.* 1733.

frauds

frauds he propoſed, inſtead of having the cuſtoms levied in the uſual manner upon tobacco, that what was imported ſhould be lodged in warehouſes appointed for that purpoſe by the officers of the crown; from thence to be ſold, after, paying the duty of four-pence *per* pound, when the proprietor found a market for it, this propoſal raiſed a violent ferment not leſs in the houſe than without doors. Thoſe who oppoſed the ſcheme, aſſerted, that it would expoſe the factors to ſuch hardſhips, that they would not be able to continue the trade, nor would it prevent the frauds complained of. They aſſerted, that it would produce an additional ſwarm of exciſe-officers and warehouſe-keepers, which would at once render the miniſtry formidable, and the people dependent. Arguments, however, were not what the miniſtry moſt dreaded; for the people had been raiſed into ſuch a ferment, that all the avenues to the houſe were crowded with complaining multitudes; and Sir Robert began even to fear for his life. The miniſtry carried the propoſal in the houſe; but obſerving the tumult of the people, they thought fit to drop the deſign. The miſcarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Weſtminſter; and the miniſter was burned in effigy by the populace.

This ſucceſs, in the members of the oppoſition, encouraged them to go on to a propoſal for repealing an act made in the laſt reign, by which the houſe of commons was to be ſeptennial. They propoſed that parliaments ſhould again be made triennial, as had been ſettled at the revolution. In the courſe of this debate, in which they were oppoſed, as uſual, by the miniſtry, they reflected, with great ſeverity, on the meaſures of the late reign.

They

They aſſerted, that the ſeptennial act was an encroachment on the rights of the people; that, during the continuance of that parliament, ſeveral ſevere laws had been enacted; that by one of theſe a man might be removed, and tried in any place where the jury might be favourable to the crown, and where the priſoner's witneſſes could not, or dared not to come; that, by another, a juſtice of the peace was empowered to put the beſt ſubjects to immediate death, after reading a proclamation againſt riots. The South-Sea ſcheme, they ſaid, was eſtabliſhed by an act of a ſeptennial parliament; and the exciſe bill had like, under their influence alſo, to have paſſed into a law. Sir William Wyndham, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this debate: *Let us ſuppoſe*, ſaid he, *a man without any ſenſe of honour raiſed to be a chief miniſter of ſtate. Suppoſe him poſſeſſed of great wealth; the plunder of the nation. Suppoſe him ſcreened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, and inſulting over all men of family, ſenſe, and honour, in the nation. Let us ſuppoſe a venal parliament, and an ignorant king; I hope ſuch a caſe will never occur; but ſhould ſuch ever happen to be at once united, a ſhort parliament will be the only means of leſſening the evil.* Notwithſtanding theſe expoſtulations, the miniſtry were, as uſual, victorious, and the motion ſuppreſſed by the majority. Thus the country party now found themſelves out-numbered upon every occaſion; they had long complained, in vain, that debate was uſeleſs, ſince every member ſeemed to have liſted himſelf under the banners of party, to which he held without ſhrinking. Deſpairing therfore of being able to ſtem the torrent of corruption, they retired to their ſeats in the country, and left the miniſtry an undiſputed majority in the houſe.

The

The minister, being now left without opposition in the house, took this opportunity to render his rivals odious or contemptible, by getting several useful laws passed in their absence; while the king laboured with equal assiduity to adjust the political scale of Europe, and for this purpose made several journies to his electoral dominions. But his assiduity in healing foreign differences did not prevent one of a more domestic nature: for a misunderstanding arose between him and the prince of Wales; a prince that was the darling of the people, and who professed his dislike both to the ministry and the their venal measures.

A. D. 1738. He had been, a short time before, married to the princess of Saxegotha; and the prince's mistaking a message from the king, at a time when the princess was lying-in, first caused the rupture. It was soon after widened by the vile emissaries of the court; so that his majesty forbade the prince his presence, and gave orders that none of his attendants should be admitted to court. A motion, however, was made in the house of commons, for increasing the prince's settlement, which was but fifty thousand pounds, to an hundred thousand. It was represented that so much had been granted by the late king to his present majesty, when prince of Wales; and that such a settlement was conformable to the practice of former times, and necessary to the independency of the heir apparent to the English crown. This motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative, and an officious intermeddling in the king's family affairs. The supporters of the motion observed, that the allowance of fifty thousand pounds was not sufficient to defray the prince's yearly expences,

pences, which, by his majesty's own regulation, amounted to sixty-three thousand. The motion, however, met the fate of all other anti-ministerial measures, being rejected by the majority.

But whatever imaginary disappointments the people might suffer, there was a blow levelled at the little wit that was left remaining, which has effectually banished all taste from the stage, and from which it has never since recovered. When Walpole entered into power, he resolved to despise that set of under-rate writers, who live by arraigning every ministry, and disseminating scandal and abuse. For a time he prosecuted that intention; but, at last, found it necessary to employ a set of mean hirelings, to answer calumny with calumny. He wanted judgment to distinguish genius; or none possessed of such a gift were mean enough to applaud his measures. From hence he took an implacable aversion to the press, which so severely exposed his corruption, and branded his follies. But the press alone was not the only scourge he had to fear; the theatre joined all its ridicule, and he saw himself exposed as the object of scorn, as well as hatred. When licence once transgresses the rules of decency, it knows no bounds. Some of the pieces exhibited at that time, were not only severe, but immoral also. This was what the minister held to; he brought in a bill to limit the number of play-houses; to subject all dramatic writings to the inspection of the lord-chamberlain, whose licence was to be obtained before any work could appear. Among those who undertook to oppose this bill, was the earl of Chesterfield, who observed, that the laws already in being for keeping the stage within due bounds were every way sufficient. *If*, says he, *our stage-players*

players at any time exceed thoſe bounds, they ought to be proſecuted, and may be puniſhed. A new law therefore is, in the preſent inſtance, unneceſſary; and every unneſſary law is dangerous. Wit, my lords, is the property of thoſe that have it; and it is too often the only property they have. It is unjuſt therefore to rob a man at any rate of his poſſeſſions; but it is cruelty to ſpoil him, if already poor. If poets and players are to be reſtrained, let them be reſtrained like other ſubjects; let them be tried by their peers, and let not a lord-chamberlain be made the ſovereign judge of wit. A power lodged in the hands of a ſingle man to determine, without limitation or appeal, is a privilege unknown to our laws, and inconſiſtent with our conſtitution. The houſe applauded his wit and eloquence; and the queſtion was carried againſt him.

The diſcontents occaſioned by ſuch proceedings at home, were ſtill more increaſed by the depredations of the Spaniards. They diſputed the right of the Engliſh to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, in America; a right which had been often acknowledged, but never clearly explained, in all former treaties between the two kingdoms. Their *Guarda Coſtas* plundered the Engliſh merchants with impunity; and upon the leaſt reſiſtance behaved with inſolence, cruelty, and rapine. The ſubjects of Britain were buried in the mines of Potoſi, deprived of all means of conveying their complaints to their protectors, and their veſſels confiſcated, in defiance of juſtice. The Engliſh court made frequent remonſtrances to that of Madrid, of this outrageous violation of treaties, and they received for anſwer only promiſes of inquiry, which produced no reformation. Our merchants loudly complained of theſe outrages; but the miniſter expected, from negotiation, that redreſs

which

which could only be obtained by arms. He knew that a war would increaſe the difficulties he had to encounter; and he was ſenſible, that thoſe he already encountered required all his art and induſtry to remove. A war, he was ſenſible, would require expences which he wiſhed to ſhare in peace. In ſhort, all his meaſures now were not to ſerve the ſtate, but to preſerve his power. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, he induſtriouſly endeavoured to avoid a rupture. The fears he diſcovered only ſerved to increaſe the enemies inſolence and pride. However, the complaints of the Engliſh merchants were loud enough to reach the houſe of commons; their letters and memorials were produced, and their grievances enforced at the bar by council. The houſe, at length, agreed to an addreſs, to intreat his majeſty to obtain effectual relief, and to convince Spain, that its indignities would be no longer borne with impunity. Theſe complaints produced a convention between the two crowns, concluded at Prado, importing, that two plenipotentiaries ſhould meet at Madrid, to regulate the reſpective pretenſions of either kingdom, with regard to the trade in America, and the limits of Florida and Carolina. Theſe conferences were to be finiſhed in eight months, and in the mean time all hoſtile preparations were to ceaſe on either ſide. His Catholic majeſty agreed to pay the king of Great Britain ninety five thouſand pounds, to ſatisfy the demands of the Britiſh ſubjects upon the crown of Spain, after deducting from the whole the demands of the crown and ſubjects of Spain upon that of Britain. Such an agreement as this was juſtly regarded on the ſide of the Britiſh miniſtry as a baſe deſertion of the honour and intereſts of their country; and

when the houſe of commons came to take the convention under conſideration, it produced the warmeſt debate. All the adherents to the prince of Wales joined in the oppoſition. It was alleged, that the Spaniards, inſtead of granting a redreſs, had rather extorted a releaſe for their former conduct; that they ſtill aſſerted their right of ſearching Engliſh ſhips, and had not ſo much as mentioned the word *ſatisfaction* in all the treaty. Notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances againſt this treaty, the majority of the houſe declared in its favour; and ſeveral members of the oppoſite ſentiment retired from parliament, having deſpaired of being longer ſerviceable in a place where party, and not reaſon, was ſeen to prevail.

As Spain had engaged to pay a large ſum of money by this convention, ſome time after, when the miniſter demanded a ſupply, upon a different occaſion, lord Bathurſt moved to know, whether Spain had paid the ſums ſtipulated, as the time limited for the payment was expired. The duke of Newcaſtle, by his majeſty's permiſſion, acquainted the houſe, that it was not paid; and that Spain had aſſigned no reaſon for the delay. In ſome meaſure, therefore, to atone for his former ſlowneſs, the miniſter now began to put the nation into a condition for war. Letters of repriſals were granted againſt the Spaniards. Theſe paparations were regarded by the Spaniſh court as actual hoſtilities. The French ambaſſador at the Hague declared, that the king his maſter was obliged, by treaties, to aſſiſt the king of Spain; he diſſuaded the Dutch from eſpouſing the cauſe of England, who promiſed him an inviolable neutrality. It is curious enough to conſider the revolutions which the political ſyſtem of Europe had undergone.

Not

Not above twenty years before, France and England were combined againſt Spain; at preſent, France and Spain united againſt England. Thoſe ſtateſmen who build upon alliances as a laſting baſis of power, will, at length, find themſelves fatally miſtaken.

A rupture between Great Britain and Spain being now become inevitable, the people, who had long clamoured for war, began to feel uncommon alacrity at its approach; and the miniſtry, finding it unavoidable, began to be earneſt in preparation. Orders were iſſued for augmenting the land forces, and raiſing a body of marines. Two rich Spaniſh prizes were taken in the Mediterranean, and war declared againſt them in form. *A. D.* 1739. Admiral Vernon was ſent to the Weſt-Indies, commander of the fleet, in order to diſtreſs the Spaniards in that part of the globe. Vernon was a rough and honeſt ſoldier, untainted with the corruption or the effeminacy of the times. He had in the houſe of commons aſſerted, that Porto Bello, a fort and harbour in South America, might be eaſily taken, and that he himſelf would undertake to reduce it with ſix ſhips only. A project which appeared ſo wild and impoſſible, was ridiculed by the miniſtry; but, as he ſtill inſiſted upon the propoſal, they were pleaſed to comply with his requeſt. This they ſuppoſed would at once rid them of a troubleſome antagoniſt in the houſe; and, in caſe of his failure, it would be a new cauſe of triumph at his diſgrace. In this, however, they were diſappointed. The admiral, with ſix ſhips only, attacked and demoliſhed all the fortifications of the place, and came away victorious, almoſt without bloodſhed. This dawning of ſucceſs upon the Britiſh arms induced the

houſe of commons to enter vigorouſly into the king's meaſures for carrying on the war. They enabled him to equip a very powerful navy; they voted a ſubſidy to the king of Denmark, and impowered their ſovereign to defray ſome other expences, not ſpecified in the eſtimates: the whole of their grants amounting to about four millions. The war was now carried on with vigour, and the debates in the houſe of commons became leſs violent. In a nation, like England, of arts, arms, and commerce, war, at certain intervals, muſt ever be ſerviceable: it turns the current of wealth from the induſtrious to the enterpriſing. Thus, all orders of mankind find encouragement, and the nation becomes compoſed of individuals, who have ſkill to acquire property, and who have courage to defend it.

LETTER LVII.

A War between England and Spain was ſufficient to communicate diſturbances over all the globe. Countries that were once too obſcure to be known, were now ſeen to ſend out fleets, one ſhip of which was capable of deſtroying all the naval power of an Aſiatic empire. A ſquadron of ſhips commanded by commodore Anſon was equipped, in order to ſail through the Streights of Magellan into the South-Sea, and to act againſt the enemy on the coaſts of Chili and Peru. This fleet was to co-operate occaſionally with admiral Vernon acroſs the iſthmus of Darien; but the delays and blunders of the miniſtry fruſtrated this ſcheme, though originally well laid. However, though

though too late in the ſeaſon, the commodore ſet forward with five ſhips of the line, a frigate, and two ſtore-ſhips, ſupplied with proviſions and other merchandize, deſigned to carry on a trade with the ſavage inhabitants of that part of the world, or to conciliate their affections. The number of men amounted, in all, to about fourteen hundred, including two hundred invalids taken from the hoſpitals, and two hundred new-raiſed recruits. This whole expedition is a fine inſtance of the power of perſeverance in forcing fortune. The commodore ſteered his courſe by the iſland of Madeira, proceeded to the Cape Verd iſlands, and ſailed along the coaſts of Brazil. He refreſhed for ſome time at the iſland of St. Catharine, in twenty-ſeven degrees of ſouthern latitude; a ſpot that enjoys all the verdure and fruitfulneſs of thoſe luxurious climates. From this place he ſteered ſtill onward into the cold and tempeſtuous climates of the ſouth, along the coaſt of Patagonia; and, in about five months, entered the famous Streights of Magellan. After having ſuffered the moſt violent tempeſts, he doubled Cape Horn; the reſt of his fleet were diſperſed or wrecked; his crew deplorably diſabled by the ſcurvy; and his own ſhip with difficulty arrived on the iſland of Juan Fernandez. In this delicious abode he remained for ſome time, where nature ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to conſole mankind for the calamities of their own avarice and ambition. In order to improve ſtill farther a retreat of ſuch elegance, he ordered ſeveral European ſeeds and fruits to be ſown upon the iſland, which increaſed to ſuch a ſurpriſing degree, that ſome Spaniards, who, ſeveral years after, landed there, and found them in plenty, could not avoid acknowledging this act of generoſity and

benevolence. Here the commodore was joined by one ſhip more of his fleet, and by the Tryal frigate of ſeven guns. Advancing now northward, toward the tropic of Capricorn, he attacked the city of Payta by night. In this bold attempt he made no uſe of his ſhips, nor even diſembarked all his men. A few ſoldiers landed by night, and filled the whole town with terror and confuſion. The governor of the garriſon, and the inhabitants, fled on all ſides; accuſtomed to cruelty over a conquered enemy themſelves, they expected a ſimilitude of treatment. In the mean time, for three days, a ſmall number of Engliſh kept poſſeſſion of the town, and ſtripped it of all its treaſures and merchandize, to an immenſe amount. Such of the negroes as had not fled, were made uſe of in carrying the goods of their former maſters on board the Engliſh ſhipping; and the Spaniards, refuſing to treat, ſoon ſaw their town all in flames. This, however, was but a ſmall puniſhment for all the cruelties which they had practiſed, in taking poſſeſſion of that country, upon its firſt inhabitants. The plunder of this place ſerved to enrich the captors; and the ravage made among them, by the ſcurvy, ſtill increaſed the ſhare of every ſurvivor. Soon after, this ſmall ſquadron came up as far as Panama, ſituated on the Streights of Darien, upon the weſtern ſide of the great American continent; ſo that by Anſon on the one, and Vernon on the other, the Spaniſh empire was attacked on both ſides: but the ſcheme failed from Vernon's want of ſucceſs.

Anſon, who now only commanded two ſhips, the remainder having either put back to England, or been wrecked by the tempeſts, placed all his hopes in taking one of thoſe rich Spaniſh ſhips

which

which trade between the Philippine iſlands, near the coaſt of China and Mexico, on the Spaniſh main. Only one or two, at the moſt, of theſe veſſels paſſed from one continent to the other in a year. Theſe are made immenſely ſtrong, large, and carry great quantities of treaſure and merchandize. The commodore, therefore, and his little fleet, traverſed that great ocean lying between the Aſiatic and American continent, in hopes of meeting this rich prize, which it was hoped would, at that time of the year, return from the eaſt, and amply repay the adventurers for all their dangers and fatigues. Avarice thus became honourable when purſued through peril and diſtreſs. . But the ſcurvy once more viſited his crew, now long kept at ſea, and without freſh proviſions. This diſorder, though it takes the ſame name, is very different from that on land. The ſea ſcurvy is attended with an univerſal putrefaction, the teeth looſen, old wounds that are healed again open, and ſometimes the limbs are ſeen to drop off at the joints. By this terrible diſorder ſeveral of his men daily fell, and others were diſabled. One of his ſhips becoming leaky, and the number of his hands decreaſing, he thought proper to ſet it on fire in the midſt of the ocean. His fleet now being reduced only to one ſhip, called the *Centurion*, of ſixty guns, and all the crew in the moſt deplorable ſituation, he caſt anchor on the deſerted iſland of Tinian, which lies about half way between the old and new world. This iſland had, ſome years before, been peopled by near thirty thouſand inhabitants; but an epidemical diſtemper coming among them, deſtroyed a part, and the reſt forſook the place. Nothing however could exceed the beauty of this ſpot. The moſt roman-

tic imagination cannot form a ſcene ſurpaſſing what Tinian naturally afforded; greens, groves, caſcades, fields, flowers, and proſpects. This retreat ſaved the Engliſh ſquadron. All that a ſea-beaten company of mariners could wiſh, was found here in great abundance; clear and wholeſome water, medicinal herbs, domeſtic animals, and other neceſſaries for refitting their ſhattered veſſel. Thus refreſhed, he went forwards towards China, paſſed by the kingdom of Formoſa, and went up the river Canton, in order to careen the only ſhip that was now left him. Being thus far on his way homeward, nothing can better teſtify the hardy and untameable ſpirit of the Engliſh, than his venturing once more back into the ſame ocean, where he had experienced ſuch a variety of diſtreſs. The commodore having put his veſſel into good order, by the aſſiſtance of the Chineſe, and having taken Dutch and Indian ſailors on board, he again returned towards America. At length, on the 9th of June, he diſcovered the galleon he ſo ardently expected. This veſſel was formed as well for the purpoſes of war as of merchandize. It mounted ſixty guns, and five hundred men, while the crew of the commodore did not exceed half that number. The engagement ſoon began; but as thoſe who attack have always the advantage of thoſe who defend, and as the Engliſh are more expert in naval affairs than any other nation, the Spaniſh ſhip ſoon became the Centurion's prize. There were but a few men killed on the ſide of the Engliſh, while the Spaniards loſt near ſeventy. The conqueror now returned to Canton, once more, with his prize. He there maintained the honour of his country, in refuſing to pay the impoſts which were laid upon ordinary merchants;

merchants; and inſiſted, that an Engliſh ſhip of war was exempted from ſuch a duty. From Canton he proceeded to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and proſecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived in ſafety, with immenſe riches. His laſt prize was valued at three hundred and thirteen thouſand pounds ſterling; and the different captures that had been made before this laſt piece of good fortune, might amount to as much more. Upon his return, commodore Anſon received all that honour which prudence and perſeverance deſerve. He ſoon became the oracle conſulted in all naval deliberations; the king afterwards raiſed him to the dignity of the peerage; and he was made firſt lord of the admiralty. *A. D.* 1744.

LETTER LVIII.

THIS expedition of Anſon took up near three years. The Engliſh, in the mean time, carried on the operations againſt Spain with vigour, and various ſucceſs. When Anſon had ſet out, it was only to act a ſubordinate part to a formidable armament, deſigned for the coaſts of New Spain, conſiſting of twenty-nine ſhips of the line, and almoſt an equal number of frigates, furniſhed with all kinds of warlike ſtores, near fifteen thouſand ſeamen, and twelve thouſand land forces. Never was a fleet more completely equipped, nor never had the nation more ſanguine hopes of victory. Lord Cathcart commanded the land forces; but, dying on the paſſage, the command devolved upon general Wentworth, whoſe chief merit was his favour with thoſe in power. This, with ſeve-

ral other unfortunate circumſtances, concurred to fruſtrate the hopes of the public. The miniſtry, without any viſible reaſon, had detained the fleet in England until the ſeaſon for action was almoſt over. In the country where they were to carry on their operations, periodical rains begin about the end of April; and this change in the atmoſphere is always attended with epidemical diſtempers. They, at length, however, ſet ſail for the continent of New Spain; and after ſome tempeſts, and ſome delays, arrived before Carthagena. This city, which lies within ſixty miles of Panama, ſerves as the magazine for the Spaniſh merchandize, which is brought from Europe hither, and from thence tranſported, by land, to Panama, lying on the oppoſite coaſt. The taking of Carthagena therefore would have interrupted the whole trade between Old Spain and the New. The troops were landed on the iſland Terra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of the Bocca-Chica, which was fortified by all the arts of engineering. The Britiſh forces erected a battery on ſhore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort; while the admiral ſent a number of ſhips to divide the fire of the enemy, and to co-operate with the endeavours of the army. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack; but the Spaniards deſerted the forts, which, had they had courage, they might have defended with ſucceſs. The troops, upon this ſucceſs, were brought nearer the city, where they found a greater oppoſition than they had expected. The climate killed numbers of the men; and a diſſention, which aroſe between the land and naval officers, retarded all the operations. Stimulated by mutual recrimina-

tions,

tions, the general ordered his troops to attack the fort of St. Lazar; but the guides being ſlain, the troops miſtook their way, and attacked the ſtrongeſt part of the fortification, where, after ſuffering incredible ſlaughter with the moſt ſerene intrepidity, they were at length obliged to retire. Bad proviſions, a horrid climate, and an epidemical fever, ſtill more contributed to thin their numbers, and to deprive them of all hopes of ſucceſs. It was determined therefore to reimbark the troops, and to conduct them, as ſoon as poſſible, from this ſcene of ſlaughter and contagion. The fortification and harbour were demoliſhed; and the fleet returned to Jamaica. This fatal miſcarriage, which tarniſhed the Britiſh arms, was no ſooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and diſcontent: a meaſure, which, if it had ſucceeded, would have crowned the promoters of it with honour, now only ſerved to cover them with reproach. The greateſt part of this diſcontent fell upon the miniſter: his former conduct, which juſtly deſerved cenſure, was not ſo powerfully objected againſt him as this failure, of which he was innocent. It is not villainy, but misfortune, that finds cenſure from mankind. Beſides, the activity of the enemy in diſtreſſing the trade of England, contributed to increaſe the murmurs of the people. Their privateers were ſo numerous and ſucceſsful, that in the beginning of this year they had taken, ſince the commencement of the war, four hundred and ſeven ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of Great Britain. The Engliſh, tho' at immenſe expence in equipping fleets, ſeemed tamely to lie down under every blow, and ſuffered one loſs after another without repriſal. This general diſ-

content had a manifeſt influence upon the election of members for the new parliament. All the adherents of the prince of Wales, who now lived, retired from the court, as a private gentleman, concurred in the oppoſition to the miniſtry. Obſtinate ſtruggles were maintained in all parts of the kingdom; and ſuch a national ſpirit of oppoſition prevailed, that the country intereſt ſeemed, at length, to preponderate in the houſe of commons. It was ſoon ſeen that the intereſt of the miniſter was in the wane; and that opinion, once eſtabliſhed, began to deprive him of even thoſe who had determined to act with neutrality. *In proclinantes*, as Ovid ſays, *omne recumbit onus*.

Sir Robert now tottered on the brink of ruin. He was ſenſible that nothing but a diviſion in the oppoſition could give him ſafety. The prince was his moſt formidable rival; a prince revered by the whole nation, for his humanity, benevolence, and candour. Theſe were only private virtues; but theſe were all he had then a liberty of exerciſing. The miniſter's firſt attempt was, to endeavour taking him from the party; a meſſage therefore was carried to his royal highneſs by the biſhop of Oxford, importing, that, if the prince would write a letter to the king, he and all his counſellors ſhould be taken into favour, fifty thouſand pounds ſhould be added to his revenue, two hundred thouſand given him to pay his debts, and ſuitable proviſion ſhould be made, in due time, for all his followers. This, to a prince already involved in debt, from the neceſſity of keeping up his dignity, was a tempting offer; but his royal highneſs generouſly diſdained it, declaring he would accept no ſuch conditions dictated to him under the inſtrument of Sir Robert Walpole.

pole. The miniſter now therefore ſaw that no arts could diſſolve the combination againſt him: he reſolved, as an expiring ſtruggle, to try his ſtrength once more in the houſe of commons upon a diſputed election; but he had the mortification to ſee the majority ſtill increaſed againſt him by ſixteen voices. He then declared he would never ſit in that houſe more. The parliament was adjourned the next day, and Sir Robert, being created earl of Orford, reſigned all his employments. Never was a joy more univerſal and ſincere than this reſignation produced. The people now flattered themſelves that all their domeſtic grievances would find redreſs; that their commerce would be protected abroad; that the war would be carried on with vigour; and that the houſe of commons would be unanimous in every meaſure. But they were diſappointed in moſt of their expectations. The miſconduct of a miniſter is more likely to affect his ſucceſſor than himſelf, as a weak reign ever produces a feeble ſucceſſion. The houſe of commons had been for a long time increaſing in power, and Walpole, with all his arts, was, in fact, rather weakening than extending the prerogative. By his method of bribing oppoſition he had taught the venal to oppoſe him; and, by his increaſing the national debt, he weakened the vigour of the crown in war, and made it more dependent upon parliament in times of peace. A part of thoſe who ſucceeded him were therefore ſenſible of this, and ſtill reſolved to ſupport the crown, which they regarded as the only declining branch of the conſtitution. Another part, who clamoured from motives of ſelf-intereſt, having now attained the object of their deſires, blundered on in the former meaſures, ſtudious of fortune, and

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not of fame. In ſhort, his ſucceſſion, purſuing all the former ſchemes of the depoſed miniſter, preſented the political part of the nation with the mortifying proſpect of pretented patriotiſm unſtripped of its maſk, and ſhewed the little certainty there is in all political reaſonings.

LETTER LIX.

THE war with Spain had now continued for ſeveral years, but with indifferent ſucceſs. Some unſucceſsful exped tions were carried on in the Weſt-Indies under Admiral Vernon, commodore Knowles, and others; and theſe were all aggravated by a ſet of worthleſs and mercenary *things*, called *political writers*—a claſs of beings firſt employed againſt Walpole, and afterwards encouraged by him, at the expence, as it is ſaid, of no leſs than thirty thouſand a year. Theſe were men naturally too dull to ſhine in any of the politer kinds of literature, which adorn either the ſcholar or the gentleman, and therefore they turned their thoughts to politics; a ſcience on which they might declaim without knowledge, and be dull without detection. Theſe men, I ſay, had for ſome time embarraſſed the conſtitution, inflamed the people, and were paid with large penſions from the crown. It was upon this occaſion that they exaggerated every miſconduct, and drew frightful pictures of the diſtreſs and miſery which they foreboded to poſterity. This clamour, and want of ſucceſs in a naval war, in which the principal ſtrength of the kingdom lay, induced the new miniſtry to divert the attention of the public to a war which might be carried on by land. The king's

A. D. 1743.

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attachment to his electoral dominions contributed ſtill more to turn the current of Britiſh indignation that way, and an army was therefore now prepared to be ſent into Flanders; the war with Spain being become an object but of ſecondary conſideration.

To have a clear, yet conciſe idea of the origin of the troubles on the continent, it will be expedient to go back for ſome years, and trace the meaſures of the European republic to that period where we formerly left them. After the duke of Orleans, who had been regent of France, died, cardinal Fleury undertook to ſettle that confuſion in which the former had left the kingdom. His moderation was equal to his prudence; he was ſincere, frugal, modeſt, amd ſimple. Under him France repaired her loſſes, and enriched herſelf by commerce: he only left the ſtate to its own natural methods of thriving, and ſaw it daily aſſuming its former health and vigour. During the long interval of peace, which his councils had procured for Europe, two powers, unregarded, now began to attract the notice and the jealouſy of their neighbouring ſtates. Peter the Great had already civilized Ruſſia, and this new entenſive empire began to influence the councils of other princes, and to give laws to the North. The other power was that of Pruſſia, whoſe dominions were compact and populous, and whoſe forces were well maintained and ready for action. The empire continued under Charles VI. who had been placed upon the throne by the treaty of Utrecht. Sweeden languiſhed, being not yet recovered from the deſtructive projects of Charles XII. Denmark was powerful; and part of Italy ſubject to the maſters which had been impoſed

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upon it by foreign treaties. All, however, continued to enjoy a profound peace, until the death of Auguſtus, king of Poland, was found again to kindle up the general flame. The emperor Charles VI. aſſiſted by the arms of Ruſſia, declared for the elector of Saxony, ſon to the deceaſed king. On the other hand, France declared for Staniſlaus, who had been long ſince elected king of Poland by Charles XII. and whoſe daughter had been ſince married to the French king. Staniſlaus repaired to Dantzic, in order to ſupport his election. Ten thouſand Ruſſians appearing, the Poliſh nobility diſperſed, and their new-elected monarch was ſhut up, and beſieged by ſo ſmall a number of forces. The city was taken, the king eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty, and fifteen hundred Frenchmen, that were ſent to his aſſiſtance, were made priſoners of war. He had now no hopes left but in the aſſiſtance of France, which accordingly reſolved to give him powerful ſuccours, by diſtreſſing the houſe of Auſtria. The views of France were ſeconded by Spain and Sardinia: both hoped to grow more powerful by a diviſion of the ſpoils of Auſtria; and France had motives of alliance and revenge. A French army therefore ſoon over-ran the empire under the conduct of old marſhal Villars; the duke of Montemar, the Spaniſh general, was equally victorious in the kingdom of Naples; and the emperor, Charles VI. had the mortification of ſeeing himſelf deprived of the greateſt part of Italy, for having attempted to give a king to Poland. Theſe rapid ſucceſſes of France and its allies ſoon compelled the emperor to demand a peace. By this treaty, Staniſlaus, upon whoſe account the war was undertaken, was obliged to renounce all right

to the throne of Poland; and France made ſome valuable acqueſts of dominion, particularly the duchy of Lorrain. In the year 1740, the death of the emperor gave the French another opportunity of exerting their ambition. Regardleſs of treaties, particularly the pragmatic ſanction, as it was called, which ſettled upon the daughter of the emperor the reverſion of all his dominions, they cauſed the elector of Bavaria to be crowned emperor. Thus the daughter of Charles VI. deſcended from an illuſtrious line of emperors, ſaw herſelf ſtripped of her inheritance, and for a whole year without hopes of ſuccour. She had ſcarce cloſed her father's eyes, when ſhe loſt Sileſia, by an irruption of the young king of Pruſſia, who ſeized the opportunity of her defenceleſs ſtate to renew his antient pretenſions to that province, of which it muſt be owned his anceſtors had been unjuſtly deprived. France, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the reſt of her dominions.

In this forlorn ſituation ſhe found a powerful ally in Britain; Sardinia and Holland ſoon after came to her aſſiſtance, and, laſt of all, Ruſſia joined in her cauſe. It may be demanded, What part Britain had in theſe continental meaſures? The intereſts of Hanover; the ſecurity and aggrandizement of that electorate, depended upon the proper regulation of the empire. Lord Carteret had now taken that place in the royal confidence which had formerly been poſſeſſed by Walpole; and, by purſuing theſe meaſures, he ſoothed the wiſhes of his maſter, and opened a more extenſive field for his own ambition. He expected honour from victories which could produce no good; and campaigns, whether ſucceſsful or not, that could only terminate in misfortune. When the parliament met, his ma-

jeſty

jesty informed them of his strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions; and that he had augmented the British forces in the Low Countries with sixteen thousand Hanoverians. When the supplies came to be considered, by which this additional number of troops was to be paid, it raised violent debates in both houses. It was considered as hiring the troops of the electorate to fight their own cause. The ministry, however, who were formerly remarkable for declaiming against continental measures, now boldly stood up for them; and, at length, by dint of number, carried their cause. The people saw, with pain, their former defenders sacrificing the blood and treasure of the nation upon destructive alliances; they knew not now on whom to rely for safety, and began to think that patriotism was but an empty name. However injurious these measures might have been to the nation, they were of infinite service to the queen of Hungary. She began, at this period, to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia. Her general, prince Charles, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, was obliged to fly before her: abandoned by his allies, and stripped of all his dominions, he repaired to Francfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity. He agreed to continue neuter during the remainder of the war; while the French, who first began it as allies, supported the burthen. The troops sent by England to the queen's assistance were commanded by the earl of Stair, an experienced general, who had learned the art of war under the famous prince Eugene; and the chief object he had first in view was, to effect a junction with

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the army commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain. The French, in order to prevent this junction, assembled sixty thousand men upon the river Mayne, under the command of Marshal Noailles, who posted his troops upon the east side of that river. The British forces, to the number of forty thousand, pushed forward on the other side, while the French, in the mean time, found means to cut off all the communications by which they could be supplied with provisions. The king of England arrived at the camp while the army was in this situation; and, seeing it in danger of starving, resolved to proceed forward, to join twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians, who had reached Hanau. With this view he decamped; but before the army had marched three leagues, he found the enemy had inclosed him on every side, near a village called Dettingen. In this situation he must have fought at great disadvantage, if he began the attack; and if he continued in the same situation, his army must have perished for want of subsistence. The impetuosity of the French, however, saved his army; they passed a defile which they should have guarded, and, under the conduct of the duke of Gramont, their horse charged with great impetuosity. They were received by the English infantry with undaunted resolution; the French were obliged to give way, and to pass the Mayne with great precipitation, with the loss of about five thousand men. The king who was possessed of personal courage, which seems hereditary to the family, exposed himself to a severe fire of cannon as well as musquetry; and, in the midst of the ranks, encouraged his troops by his presence and example. The whole of the battle,

A. D. 1743.

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on either ſide, exhibited more courage than conduct. The Engliſh had the honour of the day; but the French ſoon after took poſſeſſion of the field of battle, treating the wounded Engliſh that were left behind with a clemency unprecedented in antient hiſtory, and that ſerves to ſhew how ſuperior the preſent times are in point of humanity to the boaſted ages of antiquity. Though the Engliſh were victorious upon this occaſion, yet the earl of Stair, who commanded, did not aſſume any honour from ſuch a victory: he was unwilling that his reputation ſhould ſuffer for meaſures which he was not allowed to conduct; he therefore ſollicited, and obtained leave to reſign; and the Britiſh troops deſiſted from further operations that campaign.

Mean while the French went on with vigour on every quarter: they oppoſed prince Charles of Lorrain, they interrupted his progreſs in his attempts to paſs the Rhine, and gained ſome ſucceſſes in Italy; but their chief expectations were placed in a projected invaſion of England. Cardinal Fleury was now dead, and Cardinal Tencin ſucceeded in his place; this was a perſon of a very different character from his predeceſſor, being proud, turbulent, and enterpriſing. France, from the voilence of parliamentary diſputes in England, had been long perſuaded that the country was ripe for a revolution, and only wanted the preſence of the pretender to induce the majority to declare againſt the reigning family. Several needy adventurers who wiſhed for a change, ſome men of broken fortunes, and almoſt all the Roman catholics of the kingdom, endeavoured to confirm the court of France in theſe ſentiments. An invaſion therefore was actually projected. Charles, ſon of

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the old chevalier St. George, departed from Rome in the diſguiſe of a Spaniſh courier, and proſecuting his journey to Paris, had an audience of the French king. The troops deſigned for this expedition amounted to fifteen thouſand; preparations were made for embarking them at Dunkirk, and ſome other of the neareſt ports to England, under the eye of the young pretender; and ſeven thouſand of the number actually went on board. The duke de Rouquefeuille, with twenty ſhips of the line, was to ſee them landed ſafely in England; and count Saxe was to command them, when put aſhore. The whole project, however, was diſconcerted by the appearance of Sir John Norris, with a ſuperior fleet, making up againſt them: the French fleet was obliged to put back; a very hard gale of wind damaged their tranſports beyond redreſs. All hopes of invaſion were now fruſtrated; and, at length, the French thought fit openly to declare war.

But, though fortune ſeemed to favour England on this occaſion, yet, on others, ſhe was not equally propitious. The combined fleets of France and Spain, for ſome time, fought the Britiſh armament under admiral Matthews and Leſtock, though with inferior forces, and came off upon nearly equal terms. Such a parity of ſucceſs in England was regarded as a defeat. Both the Engliſh admirals were tried by a court-martial: Matthews, who had *A. D.* 1744. fought the enemy with intrepidity, was declared incapable of ſerving for the future in his majeſty's navy; Leſtock, who had kept aloof, was acquitted with honour, for he had intrenched himſelf within the punctilios of diſcipline; he barely

barely did his duty; a man of honour, when his country is at ſtake, ſhould do more.

The proceedings in the Netherlands were ſtill more unfavourable. The French had aſſembled a formidable army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men; the chief command of which was given to count Saxe. This general was originally a ſoldier of fortune, and natural ſon to Auguſtus king of Poland, by the famous counteſs of Koningſmark. He had been bred from his youth in camps, and had ſhewn the moſt early inſtances of cool intrepidity. He, in the beginning of the war, had offered his ſervice to ſeveral crowns, and, among the reſt, it is ſaid, to that of England; but his offers were rejected. He was poſſeſſed of great military talents; and, by long habit, preſerved an equal compoſure in the midſt of battle as in a drawing-room at court. On the other ſide, the allied forces, conſiſting of Engliſh, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Auſtrians, did not amount to above ſeventy thouſand. Theſe were incapable of withſtanding ſuch a ſuperior force, and commanded by ſuch a general. The French beſieged and took Fribourg before they went into winter-quarters, and early the next campaign inveſted the city of Tournay. The allies were reſolved to prevent the loſs of this city by a battle. Their army was inferior, and they were commanded by the duke of Cumberland. Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, they *A. D.* 1745. marched towards the enemy, and took poſt in ſight of the French, who were incamped on an eminence; the village of Antoine on the right, a wood on their left, and the town of Fontenoy before them. This advantageous ſituation did not repreſs the ardour of the Engliſh;

liſh; on the thirtieth day of April the duke of Cumberland marched to the attack at two o'clock in the morning. The Britiſh infantry preſſed forward, bore down all oppoſition, and, for near an hour, were victorious. Marſhal Saxe was at that time ſick of the ſame diſorder of which he afterwards died. He viſited all the poſts in a litter, and ſaw, notwithſtanding all appearances, that the day was his own. The Engliſh column without command, by a mere mechanical courage had advanced upon the enemy's lines, which formed an avenue on each ſide to receive them. The French artillery began to play upon this forlorn body; and, though they continued a long time unſhaken, they were obliged to retreat about three o'clock in the afternoon. This was one of the moſt bloody battles that had been fought this age; the allies left upon the field near twelve thouſand ſlain, and the French bought their victory with near an equal number.

This blow, by which Tournay was taken, gave the French a manifeſt ſuperiority all the reſt of the campaign, which they did not forego during the continuance of the war. The emperor Charles VII. who had been raiſed to the throne from the dukedom of Bavaria, and for whom the war firſt began, was now dead; yet this did not in the leaſt reſtore tranquillity to Europe. The grand duke of Tuſcany, huſband to the queen of Hungary, was declared emperor upon his deceaſe; but the war between France and the allies ſtill continued, and the original views and intereſts ſeemed now quite forgotten, that had at firſt inſpired the contention.

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LETTER LX.

THE intended French invaſion had rouzed all the attention of the Engliſh miniſtry; and nothing but loyalty breathed throughout the whole kingdom. The adminiſtration of affairs being committed to the earl of Harrington, the earl of Cheſterfield, and others, who enjoyed a great ſhare of popularity, the views of the crown were no longer thwarted by an oppoſition in parliament. The admirals Rowley and Warren had retrieved the honour of the Britiſh flag, and made ſeveral rich captures. Louiſburgh, in the iſland of Cape Breton, in North America, a place of great conſequence to the Britiſh commerce, ſurrendered to general Pepperel; while, a ſhort time after, two French Eaſt-India ſhips, and another from Peru, laden with treaſure, ſuppoſing the place ſtill in poſſeſſion of the French, ſailed into the harbour, and their capture added to the Engliſh ſucceſs. It was in this period of univerſal ſatisfaction that the ſon of the old pretender reſolved to make an effort at gaining the Britiſh crown. Young Charles-Edward, the adventurer in queſtion, had been bred in a luxurious court without ſharing its effeminacy: he was enterpriſing and ambitious; but, either from inexperience, or natural inability, utterly unequal to the undertaking. He was flattered by the raſh, the ſuperſtitious, and the needy, that the kingdom was ripe for a revolt; that the people could no longer bear the immenſe load of taxes, which was daily increaſing; and that the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom would gladly ſeize the opportunity of crowding to his ſtandard. Being

ing furniſhed with ſome money, and ſtill larger promiſes from France, who fanned this ambition in him, from which they hoped to gain ſome advantages, he embarked for Scotland on board a ſmall frigate, accompanied by the marquis Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other deſperate adventurers. For the conqueſt of the whole Britiſh empire, he brought with him ſeven officers, and arms for two thouſand men. Fortune, which ever perſecuted his family, ſeemed no way more favourable to him: his convoy, a ſhip of ſixty guns, was ſo diſabled in an engagement with an Engliſh man of war, called the *Lion*, that it returned to Breſt, while he was obliged to continue his courſe to the weſtern parts of Scotland; and, landing on the coaſt of Lochabar, July 27, was, in a little time, joined by ſome chiefs of the Highland clans, and their vaſſals. Theſe chiefs had ever continued to exerciſe an hereditary juriſdiction over all their tenants. This power of life and death, veſted in the lords of the manor, was a privilege of the old feudal law, long aboliſhed in England, but which had been confirmed to the Scotch lairds at the time of the union. From hence we ſee, that a chief had the power of commanding all his vaſſals, and that immediate death was the conſequence of their diſobedience.

By means of theſe chiefs, therefore, he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of fifteen hundred men; and invited others to join him by his manifeſtoes, which were diſperſed throughout all the Highlands.

The boldneſs of this enterpriſe aſtoniſhed all Europe; it awakened the fears of the puſillanimous, the pity of the wiſe, and the loyalty of all. The whole kingdom ſeemed unanimouſly bent upon oppoſing the enterpriſe, which they were ſenſible,

as being ſupported only by papiſts, would be inſtrumental in reſtoring popery. The miniſtry was no ſooner confirmed of the truth of his arrival, which, at firſt, they could ſcarcely be induced to believe, than Sir John Cope was ordered to oppoſe his progreſs. In the mean time, the young adventurer marched to Perth, where the unneceſſary ceremony was performed of proclaiming the chevalier de St. George, his father, king of Great Britain. The rebel army deſcending from the mountains, ſeemed to gather as it went. They advanced towards Edinburgh, which they entered without oppoſition. Here too the pageantry of proclamation was performed, Auguſt 17, in which he promiſſed to diſſolve the union, and redreſs the grievances of the country. But, though he was maſter of the capital, yet the citadel, which goes by the name of the *Caſtle*, a ſtrong fortreſs built upon a rock, and commanded by general Gueſt, braved all his attempts. In the mean time, Sir John Cope, who had purſued them to the Highlands, but declined meeting them in their deſcent, now reinforced by two regiments of dragoons, reſolved to march towards Edinburgh, and give them battle. The young adventurer, unwilling to give him time to retreat, attacked him near Preſtonpans, about twelve miles from the capital, and, in a few minutes, put him and his troops totally to the rout. This victory, in which the king loſt about five hundred men, gave the rebels great influence; and, had the pretender taken advantage of the general conſternation, and marched towards England, the conſequence might have been dangerous to the ſafety of the ſtate; but he ſpent the time at Edinburgh, ſeeming to enjoy the uſeleſs parade of royalty, pleaſed at being addreſſed and

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treated as a king. By this time, he was joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, the lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvy, Pitſligo, and the eldeſt ſon of the lord Lovat. This lord Lovat was the ſame whom we have ſeen upon a former occaſion truſted by the old pretender, and betraying him by taking poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Stirling for king George. This nobleman, true to neither party, had again altered from his attachment to the houſe of Hanover, and, in ſecret, aided the young chevalier: ſtudious only for his own intereſt, he exerted all the arts of low cunning, to appear an open enemy to the rebellion, yet to give it ſecret aſſiſtance.

While the young pretender thus trifled away the time at Edinburgh, (for all delays in dangerous enterpriſes are even worſe than defeats,) the miniſtry of Great Britain took every poſſible meaſure to defeat his intentions. Six thouſand Dutch troops, that had come over to the aſſiſtance of the crown, were ſent northward under the command of general Wade; but, as it was then ſaid, theſe could lend no aſſiſtance, as they were, properly ſpeaking, priſoners of France, and upon their parole not to oppoſe that power for the ſpace of one year. However this be, the duke of Cumberland ſoon after arrived from Flanders, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry; volunteers in different parts of the kingdom employed themſelves in the exerciſe of arms; and every county exerted a generous ſpirit of indignation, both againſt the ambition, the religion, and the allies of the young adventurer.

It would be illiberal and baſe to deny this enterpriſing youth that praiſe which his merit may deſerve. Though he might have brought civil war, and all the calamities attending it, with him,

into the kingdom; yet we muſt conſider, that he had ever been taught, that bathing his country in blood was but a juſt aſſertion of his right; that altering the conſtitution, and perhaps the religion, of his ſuppoſed dominions, was a laudable object of ambition. Thus inſpired, he went forward with vigour, and reſolving to make an irruption into England, he entered it by the weſtern border. On the ſixth day of November, Carliſle was inveſted, and in leſs than three days it ſurrendered. Here he found a conſiderable quantity of arms, and was declared king of Great Britain. General Wade, being appriſed of his progreſs, advanced acroſs the country from the oppoſite ſhore; but, receiving intelligence that the enemy were two days march before him, he retreated to his former ſtation. The young pretender now reſolved to proceed, having received aſſurances from France that a conſiderable body of troops would be landed on the ſouthern coaſt of Britain, to make a diverſion in his favour, and flattered with the hopes of being joined by a large body of Engliſh malecontents, as ſoon as he ſhould make his appearance among them. Leaving therefore a ſmall garriſon in Carliſle, which he ſhould rather have left defenceleſs, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in an Highland garb, and continued his irruption till he came to Mancheſter, where he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. He was here joined by about two hundred Engliſhmen, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of colonel Townley. From thence he proſecuted his rout to Derby, intending to go by the way of Cheſter into Wales, where he hoped for a great number of adherents. He was, by this time, advanced within an hundred miles of the capital, which was

filled with terror and confuſion. The king reſolved to take the field in perſon. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment. The practitioners of the law agreed to take the field with the judges at their head. Even the managers of the theatres offered to raiſe a body of their dependents for the ſervice of their country. Yet theſe combinations only ſerved as inſtances of the national terror; for the trading part of the city, and thoſe concerned in the money corporations, were overwhelmed with dejection. They could hope for little ſafety in the courage or diſcipline of a militia, eſpecially as they every hour dreaded an invaſion from France, and an inſurrection of the Roman catholics, and other friends to the expelled family. This therefore was the moment for the advancement of the adventurer's enterpriſe. Had he marched up to the capital, he would undoubtedly have been joined by ſeveral ſecretly attached to his cauſe; but he determined to retreat once more to Scotland, and thus his ſcheme was defeated. In fact, he was but nominally the leader of his forces. His generals, the chiefs of Highland clans, were, from their education, ignorant; and, from their independency, obſtinate. They each embraced peculiar ſyſtems, and began to contend with each other for the preeminence; ſo that, after violent diſputes, they reſolved to march back. They effected their retreat to Carliſle without any loſs; and from thence croſſed the rivers Eden and Solway, into Scotland. In this irruption, however, they preſerved all the rules of war; they deſiſted, in a great meaſure, from rapine; levied contributions; and, in the uſual form, left a garriſon in Carliſle in their retreat; which, a ſhort time after, to the number

of four hundred, ſurrendered to the duke of Cumberland priſoners at diſcretion. The pretender, being returned to Scotland, proceeded to Glaſgow; from which city he exacted ſevere contributions. Advancing to Stirling, he was joined by lord Lewis Gordon, at the head of ſome forces which had been aſſembled in his abſence; other clans, to the number of two thouſand, came in likewiſe; Spain ſent him ſome ſupplies of money; and, in one or two ſkirmiſhes with the royaliſts, his generals came off with victory; ſo that his affairs once more ſeemed to wear an aſpect of ſucceſs. Being joined by John lord Drummond, he inveſted the caſtle of Stirling, commanded by general Blakeney; but his forces, being unuſed to ſieges, conſumed much time to no purpoſe. General Hawley, who commanded a conſiderable body of forces near Edinburgh, undertook to raiſe the ſiege. He advanced towards the rebel army, and rendezvouſed his whole force at Falkirk, while the rebels lay encamped at no great diſtance. After two days, mutually examining each other's ſtrength, the rebels, on the ſeventeenth day of January, came on in full ſpirits to attack the king's army. The pretender, who ſtood in the front line, gave the ſignal to fire; and the firſt volley ſerved to put Hawley's forces into confuſion. The horſe retreated with precipitation, and fell in upon their own infantry; the rebels followed their blow; and the greateſt part of the royal army fled with the utmoſt precipitation. They retired in confuſion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels.

This was the end of all their triumphs. But a new ſcene of conduct was now going to open; for the duke of Cumberland, at that time the favourite

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of the Engliſh army, had put himſelf at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which conſiſted of about fourteen thouſand men. He reſolved therefore to come to a battle as ſoon as poſſible; and marched forward, while the young adventurer retired at his approach. The duke advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, and ſome other lords attached to his family and cauſe. After having refreſhed his troops there for ſome time, he renewed his march; and, in twelve days, came upon the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey. This was a *A. D.* 1746. place where the rebels might have diſputed his paſſage; but they ſeemed now totally void of all counſel and ſubordination, without conduct, and without expectation. The duke ſtill proceeded in his purſuit; and, at length, had advice that the enemy had advanced from Inverneſs to the plain of Culloden, which was about nine miles diſtant, and there intended to give him battle. On this plain the Hilanders were drawn up in order of battle, to the number of eight thou- *April* 15. ſand men in thirteen diviſions, ſupplied with ſome pieces of artillery. The battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon: the cannon of the king's army did dreadful execution among the enemy, while theirs, being but ill ſerved, was ineffectual. One of the great errors in all the pretender's warlike meaſures, was his ſubjecting undiſciplined troops to the forms of artful war, and thus repreſſing their native ferocity, from which alone he could hope for ſucceſs. After they had ſtood the Engliſh fire for ſome time, they, at length, became impatient for cloſer engagement; and about five hundred of them attacked the Engliſh left wing with their accuſtomed fierceneſs. The firſt line being

ing diſordered by this onſet, two battalions advanced to ſupport it, and galled the enemy by a terrible and cloſe diſcharge. At the ſame time the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyllſhire militia, pulling down a park wall that guarded the enemy's flank, and which the rebels had left but feebly defended, fell in among them, ſword in hand, with great ſlaughter. In leſs than thirty minutes they were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and ſlain, to the number of above three thouſand men. Civil war is in itſelf terrible, but ſtill more ſo when heightened by cruelty. How guilty ſoever men may be, it is ever the buſineſs of a ſoldier to remember, that he is only to fight an enemy that oppoſes him, and to ſpare the ſuppliant. This victory was in every reſpect complete; and humanity to the conquered would even have made it glorious. The conquerors often refuſed mercy to wretches who were defenceleſs or wounded; and ſoldiers were ſeen to anticipate the baſe employment of the executioner.

Thus ſunk all the hopes and ambition of the young adventurer; one ſhort hour deprived him of imaginary thrones and ſceptres, and reduced him from a nominal king to a diſtreſſed forlorn outcaſt, ſhunned by all mankind, except ſuch as ſought to take his life. To the good-natured, ſubſequent diſtreſs often atones for former guilt; and while reaſon would repreſs humanity, yet our hearts plead in the favour of the wretched. The duke, immediately after the deciſive action at Culloden, ordered ſix and thirty deſerters to be executed; the conquerors ſpread terror wherever they came; and, after a ſhort time, the whole country round was one ſcene of ſlaughter, deſolation, and plunder:

der: juſtice ſeemed forgotten, and vengeance aſſumed the name.

In the mean time, the unhappy fugitive adventurer wandered from mountain to mountain, a wretched ſpectator of all theſe horrors, the reſult of his ill-guided ambition. He now underwent a ſimilarity of adventurers with Charles II. after the defeat at Worceſter. He ſometimes found refuge in caves and cottages without attendants, and expoſed to the mercy of peaſants, who could pity but not ſupport him. Sometimes he lay in foreſts, with one or two companions of his diſtreſs, continually purſued by the troops of the conqueror, as there was thirty thouſand pounds bid for his head. Sheridan, an Iriſh adventurer, was he who kept moſt faithfully by him, and inſpired him with courage to ſupport ſuch incredible hardſhips. He was obliged to truſt his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals. One day, having walked from morning till night, preſſed by hunger, and worn with fatigue, he ventured to enter an houſe, the owner of which he well knew was attached to the oppoſite party: *The ſon of your king*, ſaid he, entering, *comes to beg a bit of bread and cloaths. I know your preſent attachment to my adverſaries, but I believe you have ſufficient honour not to abuſe my confidence, or to take the advantage of my misfortunes. Take theſe rags that have for ſome time been my only covering, and keep them. You may, probably, reſtore them to me one day when ſeated on the throne of the kings of Great Britain.* His hoſt was touched with his diſtreſs, aſſiſted him as far as he was able, and never divulged his ſecret. In this manner he wandered among the frightful wilds of Glengary, for near ſix months, often hemmed round by his purſuers,

ſures, but ſtill finding ſome expedient to ſave him from captivity and death. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by his adherents, arrived at Lochnanach, on which he embarked, and arrived at France in ſafety.

While the prince thus led a wandering and ſolitary life, the ſcaffolds and the gibbets were bathed with the blood of his adherents. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were executed at Ken nington-Common, in the neighbourhood of London, whoſe conſtancy in death gained more proſelytes to their cauſe than perhaps their victories could have done. Nine were executed in the ſame manner at Carliſle; ſix at Brumpton; ſeven at Penrith; and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons; and a conſiderable number were tranſported to the plantations. The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, with the lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned; the other two were beheaded on Tower-Hill. Kilmarnock, either from conviction, or from the hope of a pardon, owned his crime, and declared his repentance of it. On the other hand, Balmerino, who had from his youth up been bred to arms, died in a more daring manner. When his fellow-ſufferer, as commanded, bid God bleſs king George, Balmerino ſtill held faſt to his principles, and cried out, God bleſs king James, and ſuffered with the utmoſt intrepidity. Lord Lovat, and Mr. Radcliff, the titular earl of Derwentwater, ſuffered the ſame fate with equal reſolution. Thus ended a rebellion, dictated by youth and preſumption, and conducted without art or reſolution. The family of Stewart found fortune become more averſe at every new ſolicitation of her favours. Let private men, who complain of

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the miſeries of this life, only turn to the viciſſitudes in that family, and learn to bleſs God, and be happy.

LETTER LXI.

A Rebellion quelled, and mercy ſhewn to the delinquents, ever ſtrengthens the reigning cauſe. How it might have been in the preſent inſtance, I will not pretend to determine: whether too much rigour might have been exerted upon the conquered, poſterity muſt determine: actions of this kind are too near our own times to be either judged of or talked of with freedom. Immediately after the rebellion was ſuppreſſed, the legiſlature undertook to eſtabliſh ſeveral regulations in Scotland, which were equally conducive to the happineſs of the people there, and the tranquillity of the united kingdom. The Highlanders, who had, till this time, continued to wear the old military dreſs of the Romans, and who always went armed, were now reformed. Their habits were, by act of parliament, reduced to the modern modes; the obedience they were under to their chiefs was aboliſhed; and the loweſt ſubject of that part of the kingdom was granted a participation of Britiſh freedom.

But, whatever tranquillity might have been reſtored by theſe means at home, the flames of war ſtill continued to rage upon the continent with their accuſtomed violence. The French went forward with rapid ſucceſs, having reduced almoſt the whole Ne herlands to their obedience. In vain the Dutch negociated, ſupplicated, and evaded war; they ſaw themſelves ſtripped of all thoſe

ſtrong towns which defended their dominions from invaſion; and they now lay almoſt defenceleſs ready to receive terms from their conquerors. The Dutch, at this time, were very different from their forefathers, the brave aſſertors of liberty, in the beginning of the republic; the individuals of their ſtate were now rich, while their government was poor; they had loſt, in a ſpirit of taffic and luxury, all their generoſity of ſentiment, and deſire of independence; they only ſought riches, regardleſs of public virtue. They were divided in their councils between two factions which now ſubſiſted, namely, that which declared for a ſtadtholder, and that which, with attachments to France, oppoſed his election. The prevalence of either ſide was almoſt equally fatal to liberty: if a ſtadtholder were elected, they then ſaw their conſtitution altered from a republic to a kind of limited monarchy; if the oppoſite party prevailed, they were to feel the weight of a confirmed ariſtocracy, confirmed by French power, and crouching under its authority. Of the two evils they choſe the former; the people, in ſeveral towns, inflamed almoſt to tumult and ſedition, compelled their magiſtrates to declare for the prince of Orange as ſtadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United Provinces. The vigorous conſequences of this reſolution immediately appeared: all commerce with the French was prohibited; the Dutch army was augmented; and orders were iſſued to commence hoſtilities againſt the French by ſea and land.

Thus we ſee this war diffuſed throughout the whole ſyſtem of Europe; in ſome meaſure reſembling a diſorder, the ſymptoms of which, at different times, appear in different parts of the body,

remitting

remitting and raging by turns. At the commencement of the war, we have ſeen the queen of Hungary upon the point of loſing all her poſſeſſions. Soon after we ſaw the unfortunate duke of Bavaria, who had been choſen emperor by the name of Charles VII. baniſhed from his throne, ſtripped of his hereditary dukedom, and ſhrinking from ſurrounding dangers. We have ſeen the duke of Savoy, now king of Sardinia, changing that ſide which ſome years before he had eſpouſed, and joining with Auſtria and England againſt the ambitious deſigns of France; while Italy ſtill felt all the terrors of war, or rather ſaw foreigners contending with each other for her dominions, the French and Spaniards on one ſide, the Imperialiſts and the king of Sardinia on the other. Thus Italy, that once gave laws to the world, now ſaw the troops of Germany and Spain, by turns, enter into her territories; and, after various combats, ſhe, at laſt, ſaw the Imperialiſts become maſters. The Spaniards and French loſt the moſt flouriſhing armies, notwithſtanding the excellent conduct of the prince of Conti their general; and, at laſt, after a bloody victory obtained over the Spaniards at St. Lazaro, the beautiful city of Genoa, which had ſided with Spain, was obliged to ſubmit to the conquerors, to ſuffer ſome indignities impoſed upon them, and to pay a moſt ſevere contribution.

The city of Genoa had for ages before maintained its own laws, and boaſted of liberty. Beſides its inner wall, it had another formed by a chain of rocks of more than two leagues extent; but both being built in thoſe times when modern fortification was yet unknown, it was not thought, by its ſenate, capable of making a proper reſiſtance.

ance. Upon ſubmitting, the unhappy Italians too ſoon found that no mercy was to be expected from the court of Vienna, which had ever patronized oppreſſion. More than a million ſterling was demanded for a contribution; a tax, the payment of which muſt have utterly ruined the city. The magiſtrates did all in their power to pay the exorbitant ſum demanded; and the German troops exerciſed every inhumanity in exacting it. The conquerors lived upon the people, and treated them with an inſolence which was natural to them as conquerors, and as Germans. The Genoeſe were, at length, reduced to deſpair, and were reſolved to make a laſt effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. The Auſtrians took the cannon of the city, in order to tranſport them to Provence, where their arms had already penetrated. The Genoeſe themſelves were obliged to draw thoſe cannons, which they had once conſidered as the defence and ornament of their citadel. It was on this occaſion that an Auſtrian officer ſtruck one of the citizens, who had been employed in this laborious taſk. This blow ſerved to animate the people with their former ſpirit of freedom. They took up arms in every quarter of the town, and ſurpriſed ſome battalions of the Auſtrians, ſurrounded others, and cut them in pieces. The ſenate, uncertain how to proceed, neither encouraged nor ſtopped the citizens, who drove the Auſtrians entirely out, and then appointed commanders, and guarded the walls with the utmoſt regularity.

This revolution in a little city, the tranſactions of which has filled whole folios of hiſtory, ſhould not be paſſed over without remark: though no longer capable of maintaining its liberties amidſt

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the ſhock of the enormous powers of Europe, yet ſtill we find it poſſeſſed of its antient ſpirit; only to loſe it, however, by the prevailing power of the ſenate, which eſtabliſhed their ariſtocracy on the necks of the citizens, as before.

In this manner we ſee victory and miſcarriage mutually declaring for either; all ſides growing more feeble, and none acquiring any real recompence for the loſſes ſuſtained. Thus, about this time, the Engliſh made *A. D.* 1746. an unſucceſsful expedition into France, in order to attack port l'Orient, in which they came off without any honour. The French gained a conſiderable victory at Roucroux, in Flanders, over the allies, although it procured them no real advantage; and it coſt them a greater number of lives than thoſe whom they obliged to retire. The Dutch, in this general conflict, ſeemed the greateſt loſers. A victory gained over the allies at La Feldt ſerved to reduce them to a ſtill greater degree of diſtruſt in their generals than they had hitherto ſhewn; but the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification of Dutch Brabant, and which put the French in poſſeſſion of the whole navigation of the Schelde, threw them almoſt into deſpair. But theſe victories, in favour of France, were counterbalanced with almoſt equal diſappointments. In Italy, the French general, marſhal Belleiſle's brother, at the head of thirty-four thouſand men, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont; but his troops were put to the rout, and he himſelf ſlain. The French king equipped an unſucceſsful armament for the recovery of cape Breton; and, not diſcouraged by this failure, fitted out two ſquadrons, one to make a deſcent upon the Britiſh colonies in America, and the other to aſſiſt the

operations

operations in the East-Indies. These, however, were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine of their ships were taken. Soon after this, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, took above forty French ships laden from St. Domingo; and this loss was soon after followed by another defeat, which the French fleet sustained from Admiral Hawke, in which seven ships of the line and several frigates were taken.

A. D. 1747.

This variety of success served to make all the powers at war heartily desirous of peace. The States-General had, for some years, endeavoured to stop the progress of a war, in which they could gain no advantages, and had all to lose. The king of France was sensible, that, after conquest, was the most advantageous opportunity of proposing terms of peace; and even expressed his desire of general tranquillity, in a personal conversation with Sir John Ligonier, who had been made prisoner in the last victory obtained by the French at La Feldt. The bad success of his admirals at sea, his generals misfortunes in Italy, the frequent bankruptcies of his subjects, the election of a stadtholder in Holland, who opposed his interests, his views in Germany entirely frustrated by the elevation of the duke of Tuscany to rule the empire; all these contributed to make him weary of the war. An accommodation was therefore resolved upon; and the contending powers agreed to come to a congress at Aix la Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwhich and Sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain. This treaty, which takes its name from that city, was concluded on the seventh day of October; a lasting instance of precipitate counsels and English humility. By this it was agreed, that all prisoners, on each

side,

ſide, ſhould be mutually reſtored, and all conqueſts given up: that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, ſhould be ceded to Don Philip, heir apparent to the Spaniſh throne, and his heirs; but in caſe of his ſucceeding to the crown of Spain, that then theſe dominions ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria: that the fortifications of Dunkirk to the ſea ſhould be demoliſhed: that the ſhip annually ſent with ſlaves to the coaſt of Spain, ſhould have this privilege continued for four years: that the king of Pruſſia ſhould be ſecured in the poſſeſſion of Sileſia, which he had conquered; and that the queen of Hungary ſhould be ſecured in her patrimonial dominions. But one article of the peace was more diſpleaſing and afflictive to the Engliſh than all the reſt; for it was agreed, that ſhe ſhould give two perſons of rank and diſtinction to France as hoſtages, until reſtitution ſhould be made of all the conqueſts which England poſſeſſed of the enemy, either in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies. This was a mortifying ſtipulation; but there was no mention made of the ſearching Engliſh ſhips in the American ſeas, upon which the war originally began. The treaty of Utrecht had long been a ſubject of reproach to thoſe by whom it was negotiated; but, with all its faults, the treaty that was juſt concluded was far more deſpicable and erroneous. The honour of the nation was forgotten; its intereſts left undetermined. Yet ſuch was the ſtrange infatuation of the multitude, that the treaty of Utrecht was held in univerſal contempt, and this was extolled with the higheſt ſtrain of panegyric. The truth is, the people were wearied with repeated diſgrace, and only expected an accumulation of misfortunes by continuing the war. The miniſters and their

emiſſaries,

emiſſaries, about this period, had the art of perſuading men to what they thought proper, and repreſented the circumſtances of the nation as flouriſhing, though the public was groaning beneath an immenſe load of debt, and though all meaſures were guided by an ignorant and unconſtitutional faction.

LETTER LXII.

THIS peace might, in every reſpect, be termed only a temporary ceſſation from general hoſtilities; though the war between England and France had actually ſubſided in Europe, yet in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies they ſtill carried on hoſtile operations, both ſides equally culpable, yet each complaining of the infraction.

In the mean time, as Europe enjoyed a temporary tranquillity, the people of England expected, and the government promiſed them, a reſtitution of thoſe bleſſings which had been taken from them by a long and obſtinate war. A magnificent fire-work was played off upon this occaſion; which, though an uſeleſs and vain expence, ſerved to amuſe the populace, and render them more contented with the late precarious treaty.

The miniſtry alſo ſhewed ſome deſire to promote the commerce of the kingdom; and, for this purpoſe, a bill was paſſed for encouraging a Britiſh herring fiſhery, under proper regulations. From ſuch a ſcheme carried into execution, great advantages were expected to accrue: the Dutch, who had long enjoyed the ſole profits ariſing from it, conſidered the ſea as a mine of inexhauſtible wealth. However, experience has ſhewn, that the

Engliſh were either incapable of turning this fiſhery to the ſame advantage, or that their company was not eſtabliſhed with the moſt ſtrict œconomy. Private perſons have often been found to make fortunes by this fiſhery; but the company have found themſelves conſiderable loſers.

A ſcheme, which by many was thought ſtill more advantageous to the nation, was, the encouraging thoſe who had been diſcharged the army or navy to become members of a new colony in North America, called Nova Scotia. To this retreat, it was thought, the waſte of an exuberant nation might well be drained off; and here thoſe free ſpirits might be kept employed, who, if ſuffered to remain at home, would only prey upon the community. This was a cold climate, and a barren ſoil, where the Engliſh kept a fort, and a ſmall garriſon, rather to intimidate the neighbouring French, and repreſs their encroachments, than to derive any advantages from the improvements of trade, or the cultivation of the country. It was here that a ſcheme was laid for the foundation of a new colony, which might improve the fiſhery upon that coaſt, and become a new ſource of wealth to the mother country. Thus did the nation exchange her hardy and veteran troops for the expectation of precarious wealth. Every colony taken from the parent country ſerves to leſſen its ſtrength; and all the wealth imported into it, after it has become moderately rich, being only uſed as the inſtrument of luxury, inſtead of invigorating the nation, tends to render it more effeminate. *A. D.* 1749.

However, it was advertiſed by authority, that all proper encouragement would be given to ſuch officers and private men, who, being diſcharged from

from the ſervice of the government, ſhould be willing to ſettle in Nova Scotia. Fifty acres of land were granted to every private ſoldier or ſeaman, free from taxes for ten years, and then to pay only one ſhilling a year. Beſides this fifty, ten acres more were to be granted to every individual of which each family ſhould conſiſt. Every officer, under the rank of enſign, was to have fourſcore acres; enſigns were to have two hundred, lieutenants three, captains four, and thoſe above that rank ſix. Such offers failed not to induce numbers to try their fortunes on that deſolate coaſt; and, in a little time, about four thouſand adventurers, with their families, were carried thither; a town named Halifax was built; and the coloniſts left to glean a ſcanty ſubſiſtence from an ungrateful ſoil. Since that time, notwithſtanding all the encouragement this colony has received from the government, the inhabitants have cleared but a very ſmall part of the woods with which the face of the country is covered. Agriculture is quite forſaken; and the ſettlement entirely ſubſiſts by the ſums expended by the army and navy ſtationed in that part of the weſtern world.

Here, however, thoſe voluntary outcaſts of their country expected to live, though hardly, yet at leaſt ſecurely; but in this they *A. D.* 1754. found themſelves diſappointed. The Indians, a ſavage and fierce people, from the firſt looked upon theſe ſettlements of the Engliſh as an incroachment upon their own liberties; and the French, who were equally jealous, fomented theſe ſuſpicions. Commiſſaries were therefore appointed to meet at Paris, and compromiſe theſe diſputes; but theſe conferences were rendered abortive by mutual cavillings, and all the arts of evaſion.

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In the mean time Mr. Pelham, who chiefly conducted the buſineſs of the ſtate, and was eſteemed a man of candour and capacity, laid a ſcheme for lightening the immenſe load of debt that was laid upon the nation. His plan was to leſſen the national incumbrance, by lowering the intereſt which had been promiſed upon the firſt raiſing the ſupply, or obliging the lenders to receive the ſums originally granted. Thoſe who were proprietors of ſtocks, and received, for the uſe of their money, four *per cent.* were, by royal authority, ordered to ſubcribe their names, ſignifying their conſent to accept of three pounds ten ſhillings *per cent.* a year after, and three *per cent.* only about ſix years after their thus ſubſcribing; and, in caſe of a refuſal, that the government would pay off the principal.

This ſcheme was attended with the deſired effect; though it, in ſome meaſure, was a force upon the lender, who had originally granted his money upon different terms, yet it was ſalutary to the nation; and, as Machiavel has it, political injuſtice is ſometimes allowable, in order to ſecure national benefits. Beſides this ſalutary meaſure, others were purſued by the miniſter at the helm with equal ſucceſs. The importation of iron from America was allowed, and the trade to Africa laid open to the whole nation, but, at the ſame time, to be ſuperintended by the board of trade and plantation.

But all the advantages the nation reaped from theſe ſalutary meaſures, were not ſufficient to counterbalance the ſtroke which liberty recived (as ſome are of opinion) by an unuſual ſtretch of the privileges of the houſe of commons. As this is a point which deſerves the ſtricteſt attention, permit me to trace it to its ſource. The city of Weſtminſter had

had long been repreſented by members who were nominated, in ſome meaſure, by the miniſtry. Lord Trentham, having vacated his ſeat in the houſe, by accepting a place under the crown, again declared himſelf a candidate; but met with violent oppoſition. It was objected to him by ſome, that he had been uncommonly active in introducing ſome French ſtrollers, who had come over to exhibit plays upon the ſuppreſſion of our own. This accuſation, whether true or falſe, excited numbers againſt him, who ſtyled themſelves the *independent electors of Weſtminſter*, and named Sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, as his competitor. The oppoſition reſolved to ſupport their candidate at their own expence. They accordingly opened houſes of entertainment, ſolicited votes, and propagated abuſe as uſual. At length, the poll being cloſed, the majority appeared in favour of lord Trentham. A ſcrutiny was demanded by the other ſide; it was protracted by the obſtinacy of both parties: but this alſo turning out in favour of lord Trentham, the independent electors petitioned the houſe, complaining of an undue election, and of partiality and injuſtice of the high-bailiff of Weſtminſter, who took the poll. To this petition the houſe paid little regard, but proceeded to examine the high-bailiff as to the cauſes that had ſo long protracted the election, who laid the blame upon Mr. Crowle, who had acted as councel for the petitioners, as alſo on the honourable Alexander Murray, and one Gibſon, an upholſterer. Theſe three perſons were therefore brought to the bar of the houſe. Crowle and Gibſon, after having aſked pardon upon their knees, and being reprimanded by the houſe, were diſmiſſed. Murray was firſt admitted to bail; but, afer ſome witneſſes

neſſes had depoſed that he had headed a mob to intimidate the voters, it was voted that he ſhould be committed a cloſe priſoner to Newgate; and, to invigorate their meaſures, that he ſhould receive this ſentence at the bar of the houſe on his knees. He accordingly appeared; but, being directed by the ſpeaker to kneel, refuſed to comply. This refuſal threw the whole houſe into a commotion; and it was ordered that he ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate, debarred the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, and that no perſon ſhould have acceſs to him without permiſſion of the houſe. This impriſonment he underwent, ſenſible by the conſtitution it could continue no longer than while they continued to ſit; and, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, he was conducted from priſon to his own houſe, amidſt the acclamations of the people. He now was thought by many entirely free from all farther perſecution: but in this they were miſtaken; for at the opening of the enſuing ſeſſions, a motion was made, that Mr. Murray ſhould be again committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower. Hitherto it was ſuppoſed by ſeveral, that the houſe of commons had acted with a ſpirit of reſentment; now it was thought that they made an attempt at extending their privileges. Though the delinquent, a perſon of no great conſequence in himſelf, had taken the prudent precaution of retiring from their reſentment, yet ſeveral of the people ſaw that the houſe conſidered itſelf rather as a body diſtinct from the people than the guardians of the people; and, inſtead of maintaining the liberties of the ſubject in general, had attempted to increaſe their own. Some thought they ſaw in this meaſure the ſeeds of future ariſtocracy; that the houſe of commons conſtituted themſelves judges of their own privileges;

leges; and that the liberty of every individual in ſociety was at the diſpoſal of a body who profeſſed acting chiefly for their own honour.

However this may be, another meaſure was ſoon after taken, which, in reality, made diſtinctions among the people, and laid an unpaſſable line between the rich and poor. This was an act for the better preventing clandeſtine marriages, and for the more publick ſolemnization of that ceremony. The grievance complained of, and which this law was to redreſs, was, that the ſons and daughters of opulent families were often ſeduced into marriage, before they had acquired ſufficient experience in life to be ſenſible of the diſparity of fortune in the match. This ſtatute therefore enacted, that the bans of marriage ſhould be regularly publiſhed three ſucceſſive Sundays, in the church of the pariſh where both parties had reſided for one month at leaſt before the ceremony: that a marriage which was ſolemnized without this previous publication, or a licence obtained from the biſhop's court, ſhould be void, and the perſon who ſolemnized it ſhould be tranſported for ſeven years. This act was, at that time, thought replete with conſequences injurious to ſociety; and experience has manifeſted ſome of them; villains have gone about deceiving ignorant women, under a pretence of marriage, and then have left them without redreſs. The poor were thus rendered utterly incapable of making alliances with the rich; and the wealth of the nation has thus been more liable to accumulation in opulent families. It has been thought to impede that ardour which impels many to marry; and to clog a ceremony of the moſt infinite advantage to ſociety, with procraſtination and delay. Some have affirmed, that

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debaucheries and lewdneſs have become more frequent ſince the enacting this law; and it is believed that the numbers of the people are upon the decline.

This ſeſſion of parliament was alſo diſtinguiſhed by another act equally unpopular, and, perhaps, equally injurious to the religion of the community. This was a law for the naturalizing the Jews. The miniſters boldly affirmed, that ſuch a law would greatly contribute to the advantage of the nation; that it would increaſe the credit and commerce of the kingdom, and ſet a laudable example of political toleration. Many others, however, were of very different ſentiments: they ſaw that greater favour was ſhewn by this bill to Jews, than to ſome other ſects profeſſing the Chriſtian religion; that an introduction of this people into the kingdom would diſgrace the character of the nation, and cool the zeal of the natives, already too lukewarm. However, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, this bill was paſſed into a law; nor was it till the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, that it was thought neceſſary to be repealed.

An act, equally unpopular with the two former, was now alſo paſſed, which contained regulations for the better preſerving the game. By this none but men already poſſeſſed of a ſtated fortune had a privilege of carrying a gun, or deſtroying game, though even upon the grounds which he himſelf rented. This totally damped all that martial ſpirit among the lower orders of mankind, by preventing their handling thoſe arms which might one day be neceſſary to defend their country; and gave the rich the ſole enjoyment of a pleaſure, which, before, had been conſidered as the common privilege of humanity. Such were the laws paſſed this ſeſſion;

through all which a ſpirit of ariſtocracy was diſcerned by ſome. The body of the rich, no longer fearing oppreſſion from the throne, or an infringement of their own liberties, now began to lean heavy upon the poor, and to conſider the intereſts of that uſeful part of ſociety as entirely diſtinct from their own. They never omitted, however, their uſual addreſſes to the throne; and this ſeſſion was remarkable for an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for maintaining, and rendering permanent, the general tranquillity of Europe, at a time when war was kindling in almoſt every quarter of the world.

A. D. 1756.

LETTER LXIII.

IF we ſeek for the origin of the war which now began to threaten univerſal devaſtation, we ſhall find it kindling up in ſeveral countries, both of Europe, America, and Aſia, at one and the ſame time. Moſt other national conteſts have ariſen from ſome one principal cauſe; but this war ſeems to have been produced by the concurrence of ſeveral, or it may be conſidered as the continuance of the late war, which had not been effectually extinguiſhed by the defective treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

In Aſia, upon the coaſt of Malabar, the Engliſh and French had never ceaſed hoſtilities. The claims of Pruſſia and Auſtria, upon the territories of Sileſia, had never been thoroughly adjuſted. The limits of Nova Scotia, inhabited by the Engliſh, and bordered upon by the French, were never preciſely determined; and, ſouthward, the boun-

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daries of Arcadia, an extenſive country belonging to the French, and bordering upon Virginia, were equally left uncertain. Negotiations had long been carried on to determine theſe differences; but what could reaſon do in determining diſputes in which there were no certain principles to be guided by? The limits of theſe countries had never been ſettled; for they were, before this time, thought too remote or too inſignificant to employ much attention: and it was not probable, that powers, who had no other right to the countries in diſpute but that of invaſion, would have equity enough to agree upon ſharing the ſpoil.

The right which any of the contending powers pretended to, might, in the eye of reaſon, be thought very controvertible; but the convenience which either party was to derive from the enjoyment of their peculiar claims was not ſo uncertain. As the diſſenſions ſeemed to begin in North America, we muſt turn to that country to conſider their riſe. The French had been the firſt cultivators of Nova Scotia, and, by great induſtry and long perſeverance, rendered that ſoil, naturally barren, ſomewhat more fertile and capable of ſuſtaining nature with very little aſſiſtance from Europe. This country, however, had frequently changed maſters, until the Engliſh were acknowledged as the rightful poſſeſſors by the treaty of Utrecht. The poſſeſſion of this country, in any other nation, would expoſe our colonies to perpetual invaſion, and aſſiſt them in acquiring a ſuperiority in commerce, and the northern fiſheries. It has been already obſerved, that we had an infant colony upon that coaſt, which was chiefly ſupported by royal bounty, and ſtruggled with all the diſadvantages of the ſevere climate, and the

ungrateful ſoil. But it had an obſtruction o its growth ſtill more formidable than either. The French, who had been long ſettled in the back parts of the country, continually ſpirited up the Indians to repel the new comers; ſo that ſome of them were actually murdered, or ſold to the French at Louiſburg. Theſe violations were complained of, and complaint produced recrimination; ſo that the two powers of France and England were negotiating with, accuſing, and deſtroying each other all at one time.

Now alſo began to be obſerved another ſource of diſpute, which promiſed as much uneaſineſs as the former. The French, pretending firſt to have diſcovered the mouth of the river Miſſiſſippi, claimed the whole adjacent country towards New Mexico on the eaſt, and quite to the Apalachian mountains on the weſt; and finding ſeveral Engliſhmen, who had ſettled beyond theſe mountains, both from motives of commerce, and invited by the natural beauties of the country, they drove them away, and built ſuch forts as could command the whole country around. It was now, therefore, ſeen, that their intentions were to ſurround the Engliſh colonies, which lay along the ſhore, by taking poſſeſſion of the internal parts of the country that lay on the back of our ſettlements; and being already poſſeſſed of the northern and ſouthern ſhores, thus to encloſe us on every ſide, and ſecure to themſelves all trade with the natives of the country. The Engliſh therefore juſtly apprehended, that, if the French were able to unite their northern colonies, which were traded into by the river St. Lawrence, to their ſouthern, which were acceſſible by the river Miſſiſſippi, they muſt, in time, become maſters of the whole territory;

ritory; and, by having a wide country to increaſe in, would ſoon multiply, and become every year more dangerous.

The government of England, having long complained of theſe incroachments, determined, at length, to repel force by force, and to cut the knot of negotiation, which they could not untie. Orders were diſpatched to the governors of the provinces to unite into a confederacy for their mutual ſecurity; and, if poſſible, to bring the Indians over to their cauſe. The Indians were a fierce, ſavage people, unacquainted with the arts of peace, and from infancy trained to the practice of war. It had long been the method of the Engliſh to cultivate their friendſhip in times of danger, but to ſlight their alliance in circumſtances of tranquillity: this, in ſome meaſure, ſerved to alienate their affections from our government; but the fraud and avarice of our merchants, particularly of that called the *Ohio company*, who ſold them bad merchandizes, and treated them with equal inſolence and perfidy, ſerved to confirm their averſion. Beſides, there was ſomething in the diſpoſition of the French ſettlers in theſe regions more ſimilar to theirs: the French, like the natives, were hardy, enterpriſing, and poor; they naturally therefore joined with thoſe allies, from conquering of whom they could expect no plunder; and declared againſt the Engliſh coloniſts, who were rich, frugal, and laborious, and whoſe ſpoils they conſequently were the more deſirous to ſhare.

Thus then the Engliſh had not only the French, but almoſt the whole body of the Indian nations to oppoſe; yet this confederacy againſt them did not give a greater union to the different provinces, whoſe intereſt it was to oppoſe. Some of the

provinces, who, from their ſituation, had little to fear from the enemy, or little advantages to expect from victory, declined furniſhing their ſhare of the ſupplies; the governors of ſome other colonies, who had been men of broken fortunes, and had come from their native country, to retrieve them by acts of rapacity and oppreſſion here, were ſo much dreaded or hated, that they loſt all influence in aſpiring the coloniſts with a proper ſpirit of defence. The miniſtry, however, at home, began to exert itſelf for their defence, and their meaſures were haſtened by hoſtilities already commenced, there having been, for ſome time, a ſkirmiſhing between general Lawrence to the north, and colonel Waſhington to the ſouth, with parties of the French, in which the latter were victorious. It would be tedious, as well as uninforming, to relate all the preparations that now began to be made by either party; or to load this account with barbarous names and unimportant marches; or to recount the alternate victories and defeats of either ſide: be it ſufficient to obſerve, that they ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to have imbibed a ferocity of manners from the ſavage people with whom they fought, and exerciſed various cruelties, either from a ſpirit of repriſal or cruelty.

Four operations were undertaken by the Engliſh at the ſame time: one commanded *A. D.* 1756. by colonel Monckton, to drive the French from the encroachments they had made upon the province of Nova Scotia; another, on the ſouth, againſt Crown Point, under the command of general Johnſon; a third, commanded by general Shirley, againſt Niagara; and a fourth, ſtill farther to the ſouth, againſt Du Queſne,

under

under the conduct of general Braddock. In these respective expeditions Monckton was successful; Johnson victorious, though without effect; Shirley was thought dilatory, and his expedition deferred to another season; but the fortunes of Braddock are so extraordinary as to require a more ample detail. This general was recommended to this service by the duke of Cumberland, who was justly sensible of his courage and knowledge in the art of war. These two advantages, however, which, upon other occasions, are thought the highest requisites of a general, were, in some measure, conducive to this commander's overthrow. His courage made him obstinate; and his skill in war was improper to be exerted in a country where there were no regular advances to be made, nor a marshalled enemy to encounter. This brave but unfortunate man set forward upon this expedition in June, and left fort Cumberland on the tenth, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, directing his march to that part of the country where colonel Washington had been defeated the year before. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the French at fort Du Quesne expected a reinforcement of five hundred men; he therefore resolved, with all haste, to advance, and attack them before they became too powerful by this assistance. Leaving, therefore, colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as fast as the nature of the service would permit, he marched forward with the rest of his army through a country equally dangerous from its forests and savage inhabitants; a country where Europeans had never before attempted to penetrate; wild, solitary, and hedious. Still, however, he advanc-

ed with intrepidity, through the deſerts of Oſwego, regardleſs of the enemy's attempts, taking no care previouſly to explore the woods and thickets, as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the leſs regardleſs he was of danger. At length, on the eighth of July, he encamped within ten miles of fort Du Queſne, which he intended to attack, and the next day reſumed his march, without ſo much as endeavouring to get intelligence of an enemy he deſpiſed. With this confidence he was marching forward, his ſoldiers promiſing themſelves a ſpeedy ceſſation from their harraſſing march, and all things ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs; but upon a ſudden his whole army was aſtoniſhed by a general diſcharge of arms, from an unſeen enemy, along the front and left flank. It was now too late to think of retreating; his troops had paſſed into the defile, which the enemy had artfully permitted before they attempted to fire. His van-guard therefore fell back, in conſternation, upon the main body; and the panic ſoon became general. The officers alone diſdained to fly, while Braddock himſelf, at their head, diſcovered the greateſt intrepidity, and the higheſt imprudence: he never thought of retreating, but obſtinately continued on the ſpot where he was, and gave orders to the few brave men who ſurrounded him to form according to the rules of war, and regularly advance againſt the enemy. An enthuſiaſt to the diſcipline of the field, he deſired to bring the ſpirit of a German campaign into the wilds of Niagar. In the mean time, his officers fell thick about him, while he ſtill continued to iſſue out orders with compoſure, though he had five horſes ſhot under him, and though the whole body of his troops was fled. At length, receiving a muſquet-ſhot through the

lungs,

lungs, he dropped, and a total confuſion enſued. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, of the army, were left to the enemy; the general's cabinet of letters alſo ſhared the ſame fate. The loſs of the Engliſh, in this unhappy ſurpriſe, amounted to ſeven hundred men; and the remainder of the army, ſome time after, returned to Philadelphia. It was in this manner the expedition of general Braddock terminated, from which England had expected ſuch advantages. In all actions that excite the applauſe and admiration of mankind, a part of their ſucceſs is owing to conduct, and a part to fortune. Of the latter Braddock was totally forſaken; he was unſucceſsful; and the ungrateful world are unwilling to grant him the former.

Thus unfortunate were the beginnings of this war, with regard to England: it was reſolved, therefore, that no meaſures were now to be preſerved with the French; and orders were given to take their ſhips wherever found, though there was yet no formal declaration of war. With this order the naval commanders very readily and willingly complied; ſo that ſoon the Engliſh ports were filled with ſhips taken from the enemy, and kept as an indemnification for thoſe forts which the enemy had unjuſtly poſſeſſed themſelves of in America. The French complained loudly againſt the injuſtice of this proceeding; they repreſented it to the reſt of Europe, as a breach of that faith which ſhould be obſerved among nations, as a piratical meaſure, diſgraceful to the moſt ſavage people. Their memorials were anſwered by the Engliſh, with ſome ſhew of reaſon. However, it muſt be owned, that, as a declaration of war was a ceremony eaſily performed, it would have been

more conſiſtent with the honour of the miniſtry to have purſued the uſual methods of conteſt which had been long eſtabliſhed in Europe. The truth is, the miniſtry were now divided between peace and war; they ſaw the neceſſity of vigorous meaſures, but they were afraid to throw off the maſk of peace entirely. Henry Pelham, who had long guided at the helm of affairs with candour and capacity, had for ſome time been dead, and his place ſupplied by Sir Thomas Robinſon, who, though a ſenſible miniſter, and a favourite of the king, was of no great weight in council, and, conſequently, ſoon under a neceſſity of reſigning; and Mr. Fox was put in his place. The adminiſtration was alſo new formed in other reſpects, by the taking in ſeveral other new members. Thoſe who had long been in the miniſtry were, it is thought, for peace; thoſe, on the contrary, who were newly taken into the direction of affairs, expected to ſupplant their rivals by an oppoſite ſyſtem, and were conſequently for war. The leader of this party, therefore, warmly ſolicited for war, ſeconded by the juſtice of the cauſe, and the general voice of the people; thoſe who oppoſed him expected to effect by negotiation all that arms could atchieve. Whatever might have been the motives for protracting the declaration, the French ſeemed to convince Europe of their moderation upon this attack, by neither declaring war nor making any repriſals. However, they threatened England with a formidable invaſion: ſeveral bodies of troops moved to the coaſts adjacent to ours; their miniſters exclaimed loudly in foreign courts; and ſuch preparations were made, as ſhewed a reſolution of carrying the war into the heart of Great Britain. Theſe preparations had the deſired effect,

filling

filling the nation with conſternation, turbulence, and clamour. The people ſaw themſelves expoſed without arms, leaders, or diſcipline, while the miniſtry were timid, unpopular, and wavering. In this ſituation the Dutch were applied to for ſix thouſand men, which, by treaty, they were to ſend England, in caſe of its being threatened with an invaſion: which demand, however, by affected delays, was put off ſo long, that the king, unwilling to come to an open rupture with the republic, deſiſted from it; for which they returned his majeſty thanks. Such are the advantages England is to expect from relying on aſſiſtance from any other quarter than its native ſtrength and unanimity; and every day ſeems to convince us of the abſurdity of political alliances, which are never obſerved, as wanting friendſhip to bind, or force to compel.

In this timid ſituation the miniſtry were eager to catch at any aſſiſtance; a body therefore of Heſſians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thouſand, were brought over to protect about as many millions of Engliſhmen, who, with ſwords in their hands, were able to defend themſelves; but ſuch was the vile complexion of this period, that the whole kingdom preſented nothing but one picture of diſcontent, terror, and diſtruſt. The miniſtry was execrated for having reduced the nation to ſuch circumſtances of diſgrace, as to be thought to ſtand in need of preſervation from a few German mercenaries; but what could be expected from ſuch a miniſtry, who were poſſeſſed neither of the arts nor the integrity of government?

However, the French were by no means ſerious in this intended deſcent: their only deſign was to

draw off the attention of the Engliſh miniſtry from an expedition which was actually going forward againſt Minorca, an iſland in the Mediterranean, which we had formerly taken from Spain, and had been ſecured to us by repeated treaties. But the miniſtry of England were too much infected with the more domeſtic terror to take ſufficient precautions to guard this place, though they had early notice of the enemy's intentions. Inſtead therefore of ſufficiently ſecuring the iſland with a proper garriſon, or of detaching a ſquadron that, in all reſpects, ſhould be ſuperior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, they only ſent ten men of war upon this ſervice, poorly manned and indifferently provided, under the command of admiral Byng, whoſe character in the navy was by no means eſtabliſhed, with orders to reinforce the garriſon of St. Philip's with one battalion from Gibraltar: this command, however, the governor of that place thought it unſafe to obey.

The admiral ſent upon this ſervice reinforced his fleet by a detachment of men at Gibraltar; and, ſailing towards Minorca, was joined in the way by another man of war, from whom he learned that Minorca was actually beſieged, and the French fleet deſtined to ſupport the operations by land. He ſoon knew the reality of this information, when, approaching the iſland, he ſaw the French banners diſplayed, and the batteries opened againſt the caſtle of St. Philip's, upon which was ſtill diſplayed the Engliſh flag. The appearance of the French fleet, ſoon after, ſtill more ſtrongly engaged his attention; he drew up his ſhips in line of battle, and determined to act upon the defenſive. Byng had been formerly thought eminent in naval operations, to which he was early bred,

bred, but he had hitherto exhibited no proofs of courage. Men are generally moſt apt to pride themſelves upon thoſe talents for which they are moſt praiſed: and this was the caſe with this unfortunate commander; he ſacrificed his reputation for courage, to the hopes of being applauded for his conduct. The French fleet advanced; a part of the Engliſh fleet engaged; the admiral ſtill kept aloof, giving prudent reaſons for his remiſſneſs in coming to action; till, at length, the French admiral, taking the advantage of the Engliſhman's heſitation, ſailed ſlowly away to join the van of his fleet, which had been already diſcomfited. The Engliſh, for a while, continued the purſuit; but the opportunity of coming to a cloſe engagement was now loſt, and never preſented itſelf again.

Byng was ſtill reſolved to act with his uſual caution: he called a council of war, wherein it was repreſented that he was much inferior to the enemy in ſhips and men; that the relief of Minorca was impracticable; and that it was moſt adviſeable to ſail back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection. This repreſentation was almoſt unanimouſly agreed to, and put accordingly in execution. His puſillanimous conduct, however, ſoon reached his native country, where it excited almoſt a phrenzy of reſentment. The miniſtry were alſo thought to fan the flame, which ſerved to turn the public eye from their own miſconduct in ſending ſo weak an armament. Byng, in the mean time, remained at Gibraltar, no way ſuſpecting the ſtorm that was gathering at a diſtance; but talked and wrote even as if he expected the thanks of his king, and the applauſe of his conntrymen: but he was ſoon awaked from

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this dream, by a letter from the miniſtry, giving him notice, that he was recalled; and another ſoon after, by which directions were given that he ſhould be ſent home under arreſt. Upon his arrival in England, he was committed a cloſe priſoner to Greenwich hoſpital, and numberleſs arts uſed to inflame the populace againſt him. Long before his trial, ſeveral addreſſes were ſent up from different countries, crying out for juſtice againſt the delinquent. The induſtry of his friends, however, was not remiſs upon this occaſion; they expoſtulated with the multitude, and attempted to divert the whole of univerſal hatred upon the miniſtry, who, at worſt, only deſerved a ſhare. But, ſoon after, the news of the ſurrender of fort St. Philip to the French inflamed the people beyond all meaſure. This fortreſs had been reckoned, next to Gibraltar, the ſtrongeſt in Europe, the works having been planned by the celebrated Vauban; and, both from the nature of the ſoil, which was one ſolid rock, and the peculiarity of the ſituation, it was thought almoſt impregnable. In order to make themſelves maſters of this important fortreſs, the French, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, landed near twenty thouſand men, which, by continual aſſault, and having gained an outwork, at laſt made themſelves maſters of the place. The Engliſh governor, general Blakeney, however, had very honourable terms of capitulation, and marched out with all the enſigns of war. Yet, perhaps, in truth, the harder the conditions a garriſon is obliged to accept, the more honourable it is to the commander, as they denote his extremity in being reduced to accept of them.

The Engliſh now ſaw themſelves every where defeated;

defeated; in America their armies were cut in pieces; in Europe their garriſons taken; the people trembling under the dread of an invaſion; a few mercenaries brought in for their defence, who, in turn, became formidable to the natives; all theſe circumſtances concurred to exaſperate the people; but there was no object on whom to wreak their vengeance, but the unhappy Byng, who, in a manner, was already voted to deſtruction. War was now proclaimed with the uſual ſolemnity, though it was now but a denunciation after having ſtruck the blow. The Hanoverians were ſent back to their own country, and the preparations were made for trying admiral Byng in the uſual form. On the twenty-eighth day of December, his trial began before a court-martial, in the harbour of Portſmouth, where, after a ſcrutiny of ſeveral days, his judges came to a reſolution, that he had not done his utmoſt, during the engagement, to deſtroy the enemy, which it was his duty to have engaged. They therefore unanimouſly were of opinion, that he fell under the twelfth article of war, which poſitively ordered death to any perſon who, in the time of action, ſhould withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or who ſhould not do his utmoſt; through either motives of cowardice, negligence, or diſaffection. He was therefore adjudged to be ſhot on board whatever ſhip the lords of the admiralty ſhould pleaſe to direct; but his judges, at the ſame time, recommended him to mercy, as they could not tell the motives of his keeping aloof. By ſuch a ſentence they expected to have ſatisfied the national animoſity againſt him, and yet to have ſcreened themſelves from the conſciouſneſs of ſeverity. Whatever the government might

wiſh to do is uncertain; but the cry of vengeance was too loud to be diſregarded: his majeſty therefore referred the ſentence to the twelve judges, who were unanimouſly of opinion that the ſentence was legal; wherefore the king reſolved that he ſhould ſuffer the extremity of the law. Still, however, there was another attempt made to ſave him; one of thoſe who had been his judges at Portſmouth, and who was alſo a member of the houſe of commons, informed that aſſembly, that he, as well as ſome others, who had ſat upon the admiral's trial, deſired to be releaſed from the oath of ſecrecy impoſed upon courts-martial, that they might diſcloſe the grounds on which ſentence of death had paſſed upon admiral Byng, and perhaps diſcover ſuch circumſtances as might ſhew the ſentence to be improper. To this the houſe paid little regard; but his majeſty thought fit to reſpite the execution, till the ſcruples of the court-martial ſhould be more clearly explained. A bill therefore paſſed the houſe of commons for releaſing them from their oath; but when it came to be debated among the lords, and after the members of the court-martial were examined touching their reaſons, the Peers found no reaſon for paſſing the bill, and it was rejected. The admiral, being thus abandoned to his fate, reſolved at leaſt, by the bravery of his death, in ſome meaſure, to ſhew the injuſtice of the imputation of his being a coward. He maintained to the laſt his natural ſerenity; and, on the day fixed for his execution, when the boats belonging to the fleet, being manned and armed, attended this ſolemnity in the harbour, the admiral advanced from the cabin, where he had been impriſoned, to the deck, the place appointed for

execution,

execution, with a compoſed ſtep, and reſolute countenance. He then delivered a paper, containing the following addreſs: *A few moments will now deliver me from virulent perſecution, and fruſtrate the malice of my enemies. Nor need I envy them a life ſubject to the ſenſations my injuries, and the injuſtice done me, muſt create. Perſuaded I am, that juſtice will be done to my reputation hereafter. The manner and cauſe of raiſing and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice againſt me, will be ſeen through. I ſhall be conſidered as a victim deſtined to divert the indignation and reſentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themſelves muſt now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my laſt moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conſcious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me! I heartily wiſh the ſhedding my blood may contribute to the happineſs and ſervice of my country; but I cannot reſign my juſt claim to a faithful diſcharge of my duty, according to the beſt of my judgment, and the utmoſt exertion of my ability for his majeſty's honour, and my country's ſervice. I am ſorry that my endeavours were not attended with more ſucceſs; and that the armament under my command proved too weak to ſucceed in an expedition of ſuch moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falſhood, and juſtice has wiped off the ignominious ſtain of my perſonal want of courage, and the charge of diſaffection. My heart acquits me of theſe crimes; but who can be preſumptuouſly ſure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error of judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges: and if yet the error of judgment ſhould be on their ſide, God forgive them, as I do! and may the diſtreſs of their minds, and uneaſineſs of their conſciences, which, in juſtice to me, they have repreſented, be relieved,*

lieved, and ſubſide, as my reſentment has done. The ſupreme Judge ſees all hearts and motives, and to him I muſt ſubmit the juſtice of my cauſe. When he had delivered theſe words, he came forward, and reſolved to die with his face uncovered; but, his friends repreſenting that his looks might poſſibly intimidate the ſoldiers, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with an handkerchief, and kneeling upon deck, the ſignal was given for the ſoldiers to fire, and he dropped down dead in an inſtant.

How far this unfortunate man was innocent, or culpable, we ſtand too near the tranſaction to judge: if he erred in point of judgment only, it might have been a proper cauſe for his diſmiſſion; but it would have been cruelty to condemn him for it. Thoſe who plead with the greateſt vehemence againſt him, ſeem, however, at preſent, to bring their arguments from the neceſſity there was of making ſome one commander an example to give greater reſolution to the reſt, and from the good effects that ſeemed to attend his execution, by our repeated ſucceſſes after it. Theſe, however, are ſuch reaſons as may ſilence, but not ſatisfy; we muſt be contented therefore, to reflect tacitly upon this tranſaction, and to let poſterity do the reſt.

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LETTER LXIV.

EUROPE has often been compared to one republic, obeying one law, namely, that of nations; and compoſed of provinces, each of which is prevented from becoming too great by the univerſal jealouſy of the reſt. A quarrel therefore between any two of theſe is apt to involve the whole in war; but, particularly, if the diſpute happens to ariſe between thoſe who are reckoned the leading powers in this aſſemblage of nations. A war, begun between France and England, for a deſert and trackleſs wild in the remote parts of America, ſeemed now ſpreading faſt through the whole world; and the appearance of their commotions revived all the ancient jealouſies and claims among the reſt.

The French, at the breaking out of this new war, though they were ſucceſsful in its commencement, were very ſenſible that they could not long hold their acquiſitions againſt ſuch a ſuperiority as the Engliſh were poſſeſſed of at ſea, and the numberleſs reſources they had of aſſiſting their colonies with all the neceſſaries of war. Being therefore apprized that a naval war muſt, in the end, turn out to their diſadvantage, they made no ſcruple of declaring that they would revenge the injuries they ſuſtained in their colonies, or by ſea, upon the king of England's territories in Germany, which they ſecretly hoped would be a motive to his complying with their demands, or dividing the Engliſh forces, or draining their finances with heavy ſubſidies, as they knew his affection for his native country. In theſe hopes

they

they were not much disappointed; the court of London immediately, to secure the electorate of Hanover, entered into a treaty with the empress of Russia, by which a body of fifty-five thousand men should be ready to act in the English service, in case Hanover should be invaded, for which the Russian empress was to receive an hundred thousand pounds annually, to be paid in advance.

His Prussian majesty had long considered himself as the guardian of the interests of Germany, and was startled at this treaty. The monarch upon the throne was Frederick III. a prince adorned with all the arts of peace, and whom you have seen also acting as the most consummate general, He had learned to read men, by being himself bred in the school of adversity; and to love his subjects, by having experienced their attachment. He therefore took the first opportunity to declare, that he would not suffer any foreign forces to enter the empire, either as auxiliaries or principals. This consummate politician, had, it seems, been already apprized of some secret negotiations between the Austrians, whom he looked upon as concealed enemies, and the Russians, for entering his dominions, and stripping him of the province of Silesia, which had been conceded to him in the last treaty of peace. His Britannic majesty, whose fears for Hanover guided all his councils, now saw himself in the very situation he most dreaded, exposed to the resentment of France and Prussia, either of which could at once invade and overrun his electorate, while his Russian allies lay at too great a distance to assist him. However, all he wished was to keep the enemy out of Germany; and this the king of Prussia made a profession of doing, as well as he. From the similitude of

their intentions, therefore, these two monarchs were induced to unite their interests; and as they both only desired the same thing, they came to an agreement to assist each other mutually in keeping all foreign forces out of the empire. *A. D.* 1757.

From this alliance both powers hoped great advantages; the preserving the peace of Germany was the apparent good, but each had other peculiar benefits in view. The king of Prussia knew the Austrians to be his enemies, and the Russians to be in league with them against him; an alliance therefore with the court of London kept back the Russians, whom he dreaded, and gave him hopes of taking an ample satisfaction from Austria, whom he suspected. As for France, he counted upon it as a neutral ally, which, from the long and hereditary enmity with the Austrians, could not, by declaring against him, join them to whom they had such various reasons for political aversion. The elector of Hanover, on the other hand, had still stronger expectations of the benefits that would arise from this alliance. He thus procured a near and powerful ally; an ally which he thought the French, in their present circumstances, would not venture to disoblige: he counted upon the Austrians as naturally attached to his interests by former services and friendship; and the Russians, at least, as likely to continue neuter, from their former stipulations and subsidy. Such were the motives to this alliance; but both were deceived in every particular. And though this alliance astonished Europe at that time, it soon produced another connexion still more extraordinary. The Austrian queen had long meditated designs of recovering Silesia, which, in her exigency,

exigency, the king of Pruſſia had invaded, and expected the aſſiſtance of Ruſſia to effect her purpoſes. By this laſt treaty, however, ſhe ſaw England joining with Pruſſia in fruſtrating her hopes; and, deprived of one ally, ſhe ſought about, in order to ſubſtitute another. She therefore applied to France; and, to procure the friendſhip of that power, gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had been for ages acquiring with its blood and treaſure. By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political ſyſtem of Europe aſſumed a new face, and it pretty clearly ſhews that events guide the politician, while the politician ſeldom guides events; or, to uſe the words of Tacitus, there is but very little difference between the art and its fatality.

In the mean time, this treaty between France and Auſtria was no ſooner ratified than the empreſs of Ruſſia was invited to accede to it; which propoſal ſhe ardently embraced. By concurring with their propoſals, Ruſſia had another opportunity of ſending her forces into the weſtern parts of Europe, which was all ſhe had hoped by the ſubſidiary treaty with England. A ſettlement in the weſtern parts of Europe was what this fierce northern power long wanted an opportunity of obtaining; for, poſſeſſed of that, ſhe could then pour in freſh forces at any time upon the more effeminate and contending ſtates; and, perhaps, at length, obtain univerſal empire. The intrigues of France were alſo ſucceſsfully employed with Sweden. A war between that nation and Pruſſia was kindled up, though contrary to the inclination of their ſovereign, who had the natural motives of kindred for being averſe to that meaſure.

Thus all the alliances which England had long been

been purchaſing upon the continent, and many of the treaties which ſhe had been long making with all the buſtle of negotiation, were at once deſtroyed. The forces of the contending powers, therefore, now drawn out on each ſide, ſtood thus: England oppoſed France in America and Aſia; France attacked Hanover on the continent of Europe: this country the king of Pruſſia undertook to protect, while England promiſed to furniſh him with troops and money to aſſiſt his operations. On the other hand, Auſtria had deſigns upon Pruſſia, and drew the elector of Saxony into the ſame purſuits; ſhe was alſo ſeconded in her views by Ruſſia, Sweden, and France, while the reſt of the powers of Europe continued ſpectators of the contention.

Theſe deſigns of Auſtria, for the recovery of her loſt dominions, were too apparent not to be early diſcovered by ſo vigilant a monarch as that of Pruſſia: he ſaw that preparations were making againſt him by that power in Bohemia and Moravia, while the elector of Saxony, under the pretence of a military parade, drew together about ſixteen thouſand men, which occupied the ſtrong fortreſs of Pirna. The ſecret treaty alſo between the courts of Ruſſia and Auſtria did not eſcape his penetration: by this it was privately ſtipulated, that the treating powers ſhould, in caſe of apprehending any breach of the preſent peace, unite againſt Pruſſia, and ſhare the dominions of that crown between them. This he conſidered as an offenſive alliance: the treating powers alledged, that it was only defenſive. As preparations for war, however, were carrying on with the utmoſt diligence on either ſide, the king of Pruſſia, in order to be confirmed in what he already ſuſpected,

ordered

ordered his minister at Vienna to demand a clear explication, and proper assurances concerning the preparations he saw making. He at first received an equivocal answer; but ordering his minister to demand a categorical reply, whether the empress-queen was for peace or war, and to require a positive assurance that she had no intention to attack him that year or the next, an ambiguous answer was returned to so plain a question, which undoubtedly manifested an inclination for war. He therefore thought proper no longer to suspend his operations, but to carry the war into the enemies country, rather than to wait for it in his own. He entered with a large army into Saxony, and, in the usual strain of civility, demanded from the elector a passage through that country, which he well knew the possessor of it was not able to refuse. In the mean time, he disguised all his suspicions of the elector's having secretly treated with his enemies; and, upon the latter's proposing to observe a strict neutrality, he professed himself extremely pleased at the offer, but desired, as a proof of the sincerity of the elector's intentions, to separate the army of the electorate, for which there could possibly be no occasion in case of the neutrality proposed. This, however, the elector of Saxony thought prudent to refuse, which was probably what the other eagerly desired; for, in consequence of his refusal, the king formed a kind of blockade about the Saxon camp, in order to reduce it by famine; for such was the situation of this spot on which the Saxons had encamped, that, though a small army could defend it against the most numerous forces, yet the same difficulty attended leaving it that served to render it inaccessible to an enemy. Of this his Prussian majesty took

took the advantage; and, by blocking up every place of egreſs, cut off their proviſions, and the whole body was obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war.

In a detail of the tranſactions of England, it will not be neceſſary to recapitulate the numerous marches, victories, ſieges, and repulſes, of this great foreign ally. Whatever either former hiſtory had ſhewn, or even romance might feign, was outdone both by his expedition and intrepidity. King only of a very ſmall territory, aſſiſted by England, whoſe ſituation was too remote to give any conſiderable ſuccours, oppoſed and ſurrounded by all the moſt formidable powers of Europe, he ſtill oppoſed them on every ſide; he invades Bohemia, defeats the Auſtrian general at Lowoſchtch, retreats, begins his ſecond campaign with another victory near Prague, is upon the point of taking that city, but by a temerity inſpired by former ſucceſſes, attacking the Auſtrians at a diſadvantage near Kolin, he is defeated, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege: *Fortune*, ſays he, *has turned her back upon me this day. I ought to have expected it; ſhe is a female, and I am no gallant. Succeſs often occaſions a deſtructive confidence; but another time we will do better.*

One misfortune ſeemed to follow another: the Hanoverians, who had joined with him and England in the alliance, had armed in his favour, commanded by the duke of Cumberland. As this army, which conſiſted of three thouſand eight hundred men, was greatly out-numbered by the French, they were obliged continually to retire before them. The paſſage of the river Weſer might have been diſputed with ſome hopes of ſucceſs; yet the Hanoverians permitted them to paſs

it unmoleſted. Their army, therefore, was now driven from one part of the country to another, till, at length, it made a ſtand near a village called Haſtenback, where it was judged it would be beſt able to ſuſtain the ſuperiority of the enemy's numbers. However, notwithſtanding all the efforts of diſcipline, and the advantages of ſituation, the weaker ſide was ſtill obliged to retire; and, leaving the field of battle to the French, retreated towards Stade. By taking this rout, they marched into a country, from whence they could neither procure proviſions, nor yet had an opportunity of attacking the enemy upon equal terms. Unable, by their ſituation, to retire, or, by their ſtrength, to advance, they were compelled to ſign a capitulation, by which the whole army laid down their arms, and were diſperſed into different quarters of cantonment. By this remarkable treaty, which went by the name of the treaty of Cloſter Seven, the Hanoverians were quite ſubdued, and all the French forces let looſe upon the king of Pruſſia together.

The ſituation of this monarch was now become deſperate; nor could human prudence foreſee how he could extricate himſelf from his diſtreſs. The French forces, now united, invaded his dominions on one ſide; the Ruſſians, who, for ſome time, had hovered over his dominions in another part, all at once haſtened onward to overwhelm him, marking their way with ſlaughter and cruelty. A large body of Auſtrians entered Sileſia, and penetrated as far as Breſlau, and, turning to Schweidnitz, ſat down before that important fortreſs, which after a long ſiege ſurrendered. Another army of the ſame nation entered Luſatia, made themſelves maſters of Zittau, and, preſſing forward, laid the

capital

capital of Berlin under contribution. Twenty-two thouſand Swedes pierced into Pruſſian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmein, and exacted tribute from the whole country. It was in vain that the king of Pruſſia faced about to every invader, though his enemies fled before him: while he purſued one body, another penetrated his territories in the mean time; and his dominions, even in the midſt of victory, were every day contracting. The greateſt part were either taken or laid under contributions, and poſſeſſed by his enemies; and he was left without any alliance or aſſiſtance, but what the Britiſh parliament might think proper to afford.

Theſe ſuccours could, at beſt, have been, for ſome time, but ineffectual; however, it was reſolved by the Engliſh miniſtry, that ſomething ſhould be done, and accordingly an enterprize was planned againſt the French coaſt, which, by drawing off their attention from Pruſſia, might give it time to reſpire, and call off a part of the French to defend themſelves. Beſides this intention, England alſo hoped to be able to give a blow to their marine, by deſtroying ſuch ſhips as were laid up or building in the harbour of Rochfort, the city againſt which this expedition was deſtined. The Engliſh miniſtry kept this object of their operations a profound ſecret; and France was filled with alarms, till at length it was found that the fleet appeared before Rochfort, where it ſpent ſome time in deliberating upon what manner to proceed, At laſt it was reſolved to ſecure the little iſland of Aix, an eaſy conqueſt, which, while performing, the militia of the country had time to aſſemble, and there was an appearance of two camps upon

the ſhore. The commanders, therefore, who, by the badneſs of the weather, were, at firſt, prevented from landing, now feared equal danger from the numbers of the enemy which were to oppoſe them. They took into conſideration the badneſs of the coaſt, the danger of landing, the time the city had to prepare for a vigorous defence, and their own unfitneſs for any other methods to reduce it but that of a ſudden attack. This conſideration induced them to deſiſt from further operations; and they unanimouſly reſolved to return home, without making any attempt. Nothing could equal the diſcontent of the Engliſh upon ſeeing this expedition, of which they had conceived ſuch expectations, return unſucceſsful. It produced, as uſual, a conteſt between thoſe who planned, and thoſe who were ſent to execute it. The military men repreſented it as uſeleſs and raſh; the miniſters exclaimed at the timidity and delays of thoſe from whoſe vigour ſucceſs was to be expected. A court of enquiry cenſured the commander; but a court-martial acquitted him. This, like almoſt all the former operations, ſerved to embitter party, and increaſe deſpondence. A great man was even heard to ſay, upon a very ſolemn occaſion, that he believed the commanders of every military operation were reſolved upon doing nothing. The tumult of the people was now ſunk from turbulent clamour into ſullen diſcontent; they ſaw only gloomy proſpects on every ſide, their armies deſtroyed, their fleets inactive, their expeditions ridiculous, and the only ally they had left in Europe, that would fight their battles, upon the point of being overwhelmed by ſuperiority of numbers. Such were the beginnings of this war,

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from which the timid foreboded nationel ſervitude, and a total deſtruction of all maritime power, and even the moſt ſanguine only hoped for a peace that might reſtore them to former equality.

LETTER LXV.

SUCH was the ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms, and of their allies, at the beginning of this war. Every day the preſs teemed with productions which either reproached their cowardice, or foreboded their undoing. Yet ſtill the hopes of the parliament roſe with their diſappointments, and every reſource ſeemed to augment with their expences. Tho' the ſupplies for this deſtructive and hitherto ſhameful war were enormous, yet they were raiſed as ſoon as granted. The officers of the army ſeemed roufed into vigour by national reproach. Aſia was the country in which ſucceſs firſt began to dawn upon the Britiſh intereſt, and where we firſt learned the heart of again conquering the enemy. A war in Europe could not be proclaimed between the two great powers, without being felt in the remoteſt parts of the globe. This immenſe tract of country, which was the theatre of an Aſiatic war, comprehends the whole peninſula of India Proper. On the coaſts of this great territory, the Engliſh, the French, and ſeveral other powers of Europe, had built forts, with the original conſent of the Mogul, who claims the ſovereignty of the whole empire. Whatever his right may be to this dominion, his power is ſcarce felt or acknowledged in many of the remoter provinces; and even the governors or nabobs, who

were

were originally of his appointment, have rendered themſelves independent, and exert an abſolute dominion over their reſpective territories, without acknowledging his ſuperiority, either by tribute or homage. In their conteſts, therefore, theſe princes, inſtead of having recourſe to the Mogul for redreſs, apply to the European powers, whom they can either purchaſe or perſuade to aſſiſt them. The war between England and France in theſe remote parts, firſt began by each power's ſiding with two contending nabobs, and thus, by degrees, becoming principals in the diſpute. The ſucceſs, on each ſide, for ſome time after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, ſeemed doubtful, till, at length, the affairs of the Engliſh ſeemed to gain the aſcendancy by the courage and conduct of Mr. Clive, a gentleman who firſt entered into the ſervice of the company as a clerk, but ſoon ſhewed his talents more adapted for war. By his vigilance and courage the province of Arcot was cleared of the enemy, the French general taken priſoner, and the nabob, whom the Engliſh ſupported, reinſtated in the government of which he had been formerly deprived. The French, diſcouraged by theſe misfortunes, and ſenſible of their own inferiority in this part of the world, ſent over a commiſſary with a view to reſtore peace; and a convention between the two companies was accordingly concluded, importing, that the territories taken on either ſide, ſince the laſt peace, ſhould be mutually reſtored; that the nabobs advanced by the influence of either party, ſhould be acknowledged by both; and that, for the future, neither ſhould interfere in the differences between the princes of the country. This ceſſation, however, was not of long duration; compacts made between trading companies can never

never be of long continuance, when there is a proſpect of advantage to either ſide from their infraction. In a few months after both ſides renewed their operations, no longer as auxiliaries, but as rivals in arms and commerce. What the motives to this infraction were are not ſufficiently known: wherever there is trade there muſt be a degree of avarice; and that is a paſſion too often the parent of injuſtice and cruelty. Certain it is that the viceroy of Bengal, from motives of perſonal reſentment, declared againſt the Engliſh; and, levying a numerous army, laid ſiege to Calcutta, one of their forts, which was in no ſituation to endure the attack even of barbarians. It was taken by aſſault; and the garriſon, to the number of one hundred and forty-ſix perſons, were crowded into a narrow priſon called the *Black Hole*, about eighteen feet ſquare, without any entrance for air, except by two iron windows to the weſt, which by no means afforded a ſufficient quantity for the ſupporting life in ſuch numbers. In ſuch a burning climate it is terrible to conceive the ſituation of wretches thus immured and ſuffocating each other. Their firſt effort, upon finding the danger of their horrid confinement, was to break open the door; but this being impoſſible, they endeavoured to excite the compaſſion or the avidity of the guard, by offering him a large ſum of money for his aſſiſtance in removing them to ſeparate priſons, with which he was not able to comply, as the viceroy was aſleep, and no perſon durſt diſturb him. They were now therefore left without hopes of relief to periſh, and the whole priſon was filled with groans, ſhrieks, conteſt, and confuſion. This turbulence ſoon after ſunk into languor and deſpair; and towards morning all was

horrid silence and desolation. Of an hundred and forty-six who had entered alive, twenty-three only survived, and of these several died of putrid fevers upon their being set free.

The reduction of this important fortress served to interrupt the prosperous successes of the English company; but the fortune of Mr. Clive still vanquished every obstacle. A fleet under the command of admiral Watson, conspired with his efforts, and helped him in his victories. Angria, a piratical prince, who had long annoyed the company's settlements in the neighbourhood of Bombay, first felt the weight of our naval power. This prince maintained a large number of gallies, with which he would attack the largest ships, when he found a proper opportunity; and, by this means, he exacted a tribute from every European power for a permission to trade. To subdue such a dangerous enemy to commerce, admiral Watson and colonel Clive sailed into his harbour of Geriah, though they sustained a warm fire as they passed, and soon threw all his fleet and his sort into flames. The next day the fort surrendered at discretion, where the conquerors found a large quantity of warlike stores, and effects to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

From this conquest Mr. Clive went on to take revenge for the treatment of the English at Calcutta, and about the beginning of December arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal. There was but small opposition made to the fleet, or the army, till they came before Calcutta, the scene of former cruelty; but as soon as the admiral, with two ships, arrived before the town, he received a furious fire from all the batteries. This, however, he returned with still greater execution,

and

and in leſs than two hours the place was abandoned. Thus by the conqueſt of this and the former fortreſs, the Engliſh became poſſeſſed of the two ſtrongeſt ſettlements on the banks of the Ganges. Soon after theſe ſucceſſes, Hughly, a city of great trade, was reduced with as little difficulty, and all the viceroy of Bengal's ſtorehouſes and granaries deſtroyed. This barbarous prince, incenſed at theſe loſſes, aſſembled an army of ten thouſand horſe and fifteen thouſand foot, fully reſolved to expel the Engliſh out of his dominions. Upon the firſt intelligence of his march, colonel Clive begged of the admiral a reinforcement of men from the ſhips; and ſix hundred ſeamen were accordingly ſoon added to his little army. The numerous forces of the viceroy of Bengal appeared, and colonel Clive advanced in three columns to attack him. But, though the forces were ſo ſeemingly diſproportioned, with reſpect to number, the victory ſoon declared in favour of the Engliſh commander. In fact, what could timid Aſiatic ſoldiers do againſt European troops, hardened by war, and inured to all the viciſſitudes of climate. All the cuſtoms, habits, and opinions, of the Aſiatics, tend to enfeeble the body, and effeminate the mind. When we conceive a body of men led up to the attack, dreſſed in long ſilk garments, with no other courage than that inſpired by opium, with no other fears from defeat but that of changing their mode of ſlavery; their chief commander mounted on an elephant, and conſequently a more conſpicuous object for aim; their artillery drawn by oxen, impatient and furious upon the ſlighteſt wound; every ſoldier utterly unacquainted with that cool intrepidity which provides againſt danger, and only taught to fight by the ſame arts that raiſe

their paſſions;—if we conſider all theſe circumſtances, it will be no way ſurpriſing, if one or two thouſand Europeans ſhould eaſily diſcomfit thirty thouſand Indians. And all the heroiſm of a Cyrus, or an Alexander, in gaining ſuch diſproportioned victories, will no longer be the ſubject of admiration.

A victory ſo eaſily acquired by a foreign enemy, ſoon rendered the viceroy of Bengal contemptible to his ſubjects at home. His preſent cowardice rendered him deſpicable; his former inſolence and cruelty, odius. A conſpiracy was projected againſt him by Alikan, his prime miniſter, and the Engliſh, having private intimations of the deſign, reſolved to ſeize the opportunity of ſeconding it with all their endeavours. Accordingly, colonel Clive marched forward, took the town of Cutwa in his march, and ſoon came up with the viceroy's army; and, after a ſhort conteſt, put the whole to flight, with terrible ſlaughter. Alikan, who had firſt incited his maſter to this undertaking, had hitherto concealed his attachments, either through fear or perfidy; but, after this victory, he openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Engliſh, and was therefore ſolemny proclaimed viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſa, in the room of the former viceroy, who was as ſolemnly depoſed, and ſoon after put to death by his ſucceſſor. The new viceroy was not inſenſible of the gratitude he owed the Engliſh, for their aſſiſtance in his promotion. He granted liberally all their demands, ſatisfied them even to the moſt extended wiſh of avarice, and took every method to demonſtrate his pride in their alliance.

Yet not the Indians alone, but the French alſo, ſubmitted to colonel Clive's aſſiduity and courage, ſeconded by the endeavours of the Admirals Wat-

ſon and Pocock. Chadenagore, a French ſettlement higher up the river than Calcutta, of great ſtrength, and the moſt important of any poſſeſſed by that nation in the bay of Bengal, ſubmitted to the Engliſh arms. The goods and money found in the place were conſiderable; but the chief damage the French ſuſtained was in the ruin of their head ſettlement on the Ganges, by which they had long divided the commerce of this part of India. Thus, in one campaign, the Engliſh, in ſome meaſure, became poſſeſſors of an immenſe tract of country, ſuperior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants, to many of Europe. Above two millions ſterling were paid to the company and ſufferers at Calcutta; the ſoldiers and ſeamen ſhared ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and the Engliſh forces became too formidable for reſiſtance. Yet, perhaps, this remote power will, one day, either ſerve to drain from the mother country all its uſeful hands, or our victories will ſerve to teach the native barbarians to avail themſelves of their numbers, and, by being frequently defeated, they will, at laſt, learn to conquer.

The ſucceſs of the Engliſh was not a little alarming to the French miniſtry at home; and it is believed that even the Dutch themſelves entertained ſome jealouſy of their growing greatneſs. A conſiderable reinforcement was therefore ſent from France, under the command of general Lally, an Iriſhman, who was reckoned one of the braveſt, yet moſt whimſical men in the French ſervice. He had been, from his earlieſt years, bred a ſoldier of fortune, and carried the military ſpirit of honour to its utmoſt limits. Under his guidance the French affairs ſeemed, for ſome time, to wear a better face; he took fort St. David's, plundered a

town belonging to the king of Tanjour, in alliance with the Engliſh, and after laid ſiege to his capital. Failing in his deſign upon this city, he entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying ſiege to Madraſs, the chief ſettlement of our company, upon the coaſt of Coromandel. In the ſiege of this important fortreſs a greater variety of difficulties preſented than he had expected. The artillery of the garriſon was well managed, while, on the other ſide, the French acted with the utmoſt timidity: it was in vain that their commander exhorted them to proceed; though a breach was made, and lay open for fifteen days, no one of them dared to venture to the aſſault. Beſides this, they were ill ſupplied with proviſions; and the arrival of a reinforcement in the garriſon ſoon after, ſerved to baniſh all hopes of ſucceſs. After a briſk fire they raiſed the ſiege; and this miſcarriage ſo entirely depreſſed the ardour of the enemy, that they appeared quite diſpirited in almoſt every enſuing engagement. In this manner, therefore, their affairs went on declining, not leſs by land than by ſea. There were ſeveral engagements between the two fleets, in which the French, though ſuperior in number of ſhips and men, always declined a deciſive engagement.

But the French were not the only enemies the Engliſh had to fear in this part of the world; the jealouſy of the Dutch was excited by our repeated ſucceſs, and the late extenſion of our power. As this diſpute, however trifling it may ſeem, may, one day, be of greater conſequence than it appears at preſent, I ſhall be more particular in my relation of it.

Under a pretence of reinforcing their garriſons in Bengal, the Dutch equipped an armament of ſeven

ſeven ſhips, which was ordered to ſail up the Ganges, and render their fort, at a place called Chincura, ſo formidable, as to be able to bid defiance to the power of Britain, and thus ſecure to themſelves the trade for ſalt-petre, which this place afforded. This deſign, however, colonel Clive thought incumbent on him, if poſſible, to defeat; and ſending the Dutch commander a letter, he informed him that he could not permit his landing, and marching forces to Chincura. To this meſſage the Dutchman replied, that he had no ſuch deſigns as were imputed to him; and he only requeſted liberty to land his troops to refreſh them, which was readily granted. He made theſe conceſſions, however, only till he knew that the ſhips which were to ſecond his operations, were come up the river, and then, throwing off the maſk, he began his march to Chincura, and took ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging to the Engliſh, to retaliate for the affront he pretended to have ſuſtained in being denied permiſſion to proceed. Whether, upon this occaſion, the Calcutta indiaman was ſent out to interrupt their progreſs, or was only purſuing its way homeward, is not clearly known; but certain it is, that the Dutch commander threatened to ſink it, if it preſumed to paſs him. The Engliſh captain ſeeing them point their guns, as if they really reſolved to put their threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other India ſhips lay at anchor, and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who inſtantly ordered the three indiamen to prepare for battle. The Dutch fleet were not remiſs in advancing to meet them. After a few broadſides, however, the Dutch commodore ſtruck, and the reſt of his fleet followed the example. The victory being thus obtained

without

without any loſs to the Engliſh, captain Wilſon, who commanded in the expedition, took poſſeſſion of the prizes, which had greatly ſuffered, and the crews were ſent priſoners to the Engliſh fort. In the mean time their land forces, which amounted to eleven hundred men, were totally defeated by colonel Ford, ſent upon that duty by Clive. A conſiderable part were killed, and the reſt made priſoners of war. During this conteſt, the nabob preſerved a ſuſpicious neutrality, ready, as it ſhould ſeem, to join with the conquerors. Fortune, however, no ſooner determined in favour of the Engliſh, than he offered them his ſervices, and profeſſed himſelf ready to demoliſh the Dutch fortification of Chincura. This conteſt was repreſented in very different lights to the reſpective governments at home; the Dutch declaimed againſt the Engliſh oppreſſing all who attempted to trade in the Indies; while the Engliſh, on the other hand, reminded the Dutch of their former cruelties, and of their deſire of gain, even at the expence of every moral obligation. However, ſoon after, a negotiation enſued; the Dutch wiſely gave way to a power they were unable to withſtand. A treaty was concluded, and peace was reſtored, ſeemingly to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Such is the preſent ſituation of this conteſt, which probably contains the ſeeds of future diſſention. The Dutch will, upon all occaſions, think it allowable to increaſe their power in India to whatever pitch they think proper; and the Engliſh will ever find it their intereſt to repel them. It may thus happen, that the amity of the two powers in Europe will not be ſufficient to preſerve unanimity in ſo diſtant a part of the world. In this manner, while Great Britain puts an end to one

war,

war, ſhe often lays the foundation for another; for extended empire ever produces an increaſing neceſſity of defence.

Our ſucceſs againſt the French on the coaſt of Coromandel was not leſs conſpicuous. Our troops were headed by colonel Coote, a native of Ireland, a man of prudence and bravery; he marched againſt general Lally; took the city of Wanderwaſh in his way; reduced Carangoly, a fortreſs commanded by colonel O'Kennedy; and, at length, came up with the French general, who was equally deſirous of the engagement. It is remarkable enough, that the commanders on either ſide were countrymen; but this did not in the leaſt abate their attachment to the different crowns they ſerved. In the morning early the French advanced within three quarters of a mile of the Engliſh line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both ſides; the engagement continued with much obſtinacy till about two in the afternoon, when the French gave way and fled towards their camp; which, however, they as quickly abandoned, and left their cannon and the field of battle to the conquerors. Their loſing the city of Arcot was the conſequence of this victory; and nothing now remained to them, of all their vaſt poſſeſſions in India, but Pondicherry, their ſtrongeſt, largeſt, and moſt beautiful ſettlement. This capital of the French Indian power, in the days of its proſperity, exceeded all other European ſettlements there, in trade, opulence, and ſplendor; and was ſtill the repoſitory of all the French wealth which remained after repeated defeats. As ſoon as the fortreſſes adjacent to this important place were reduced, colonel Coote ſat down before it, reſolved upon the blockade by land, while admiral Stevens ſhut up

their

their harbour by ſea. A regular ſiege was, at that time, impracticable, from the periodical rains which in that climate were ſoon expected to obſtruct ſuch operations. Theſe diſadvantages were even ſufficient to repreſs any attempts whatſoever; but, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the climate, the Engliſh commander continued before the place for full ſeven months. Neither rains nor ſtorms were, in the leaſt able to abate their aſſiduity; they continued the ſiege, and preſſed the garriſon in ſuch a manner, that they were reduced to the moſt extreme diſtreſs. Lally, however, was reſolutely bent on ſuffering every calamity, rather than yield this laſt ſtake of French power in India; though his ſoldiers were obliged to feed on dogs and cats, and even bought ſuch wretched proviſions extremely dear, (eight crowns having been given for the fleſh of a dog,) yet ſtill he determined to hold out. In the midſt of this diſtreſs, fortune ſeemed to give an opportunity of relief, had it been properly ſeconded. In the beginning of January, one of thoſe terrible ſtorms which are common in thoſe climates, but of whoſe violence we can have but little idea in Europe, wrecked a large part of the Engliſh fleet that was blocking up the harbour of Pondicherry. This was a blow which once more elevated the hopes of the deſpairing garriſon. The governor now flattered himſelf with the hope of being ſupplied with proviſions; and once more animated his ſoldiers, long ſunk by diſeaſe, famine, fatigue, and uninterrupted adverſity. He immediately wrote to one of the French reſidents at a Dutch ſettlement for inſtant aſſiſtance; his eager impatience appears in the letter he ſent. *The Engliſh ſquadron is no more, Sir. Of the twelve ſhips they had in our road, ſeven are loſt,*

crews

crews and all; the other four dismasted, and no more than one frigate hath escaped---lose not an instant in sending boats after boats loaded with rice.—The saving of Pondicherry hath been in your power once already; this opportunity neglected, the fault will be all yours. Offer great rewards.—In four days I expect seventeen thousand Morattoes.—In short, risque all, attempt all, force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time. This singular letter, however, was intercepted; and, in less than four days, he had the mortification to behold admiral Stevens again appearing in the harbour, who had repaired his losses with all possible celerity; and the blockade now became as complete as ever. Still, however, he made no proposal to surrender, while the siege was carried on by his countryman with redoubled alacrity; and, at length, he found his troops half consumed with fatigue and famine, a breach made in the rampart, and not more than one day's provision of any kind remaining. He was now reduced to an extremity that would admit of no hesitation; a signal was therefore made to cease hostilities: the principal of the jesuits, together with two civilians, came out, and offered terms of capitulation. Lally, however, could not be prevailed upon to offer any terms: he sent a paper, filled with reproaches against the English, to colonel Coote; and alledged, that he would not treat with an enemy upon the honourable terms of war, who had already forfeited his honour in several instances. He therefore suffered the English troops to take possession of the place, but refused to surrender it in the usual forms. This conquest terminated the power of France in India; the whole trade of that

vaſt peninſula, from the Indus to the Ganges, became our own. The princes of the country knew the Engliſh force, and learned to fear it. Since that time nothing conſiderable has been done againſt us. Our Eaſt-India company have become the arbiters of empire. The Mogul himſelf has been defeated and taken priſoner. The Britiſh empire begins to vie even with that of antient Rome; the extent of its dominions on land is as wide, and its force at ſea is infinitely greater. Happy if we know when to bound our ſucceſſes; happy if we can diſtinguiſh between victories and advantages; if we can be convinced, that when a nation ſhines brighteſt with conqueſt, it may then, like a waiſting taper, be only haſtening to decay!

LETTER LXVI.

VICTORY, which thus firſt dawned upon us from the eaſt, ſeemed to extend even to Europe and America. But ſome ſteps led to theſe ſucceſſes which had been long wiſhed for; and, at length, were effected. The affairs of war were directed by a miniſtry which ſeemed utterly unequal to the weight and importance of ſuch a charge; they were but feebly held together among each other, and clamoured againſt by the united voice of the people. It had long been their method to rule by party; and, ſurrounding the throne, it was ſaid, they attempted only to fill the royal ear with whatever ſuggeſtions they thought moſt to their intereſts. When any new meaſure was propoſed, which could not receive their approbation; or any new member was introduced into government, whom they did not nominate; it was their method to throw up their placeswith a ſecret view of reſuming them with greater luſtre. Thus all hope of preferment was to be expected only from them; public favours were conferred only for private ſervices; they were thought to govern in the ſenate and in the field: the ſtrength of the crown was actually declining; that of the people was ſcarce any more; while ariſtocracy filled up every avenue to the throne with pride, ignorance, and faction.

The ſtate of the king and nation, at that time, was truly deplorable: the defeat of Braddock in America; the loſs of Oſwego; the delay of armaments; the abſurd deſtination of fleets and armies, all

all ſerved to reduce the people almoſt to a ſtate of deſperation, and brought addreſſes to the king from every part of the kingdom. The general voice was, at length, too loud not to reach the throne; and the miniſtry were, at length, obliged to admit ſome men into a ſhare of the government, whoſe talents and integrity might, in ſome meaſure, counterbalance their own deficiency. At the head of theſe newly introduced were Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge; the former of theſe was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, the other chancellor of the exchequer. To draw the characters of men ſtill living, would neceſſarily ſubject me to the imputation of adulation or ſatire; it is enough to ſay, that the people had high expectations from their abilities, and, in the end, they were not diſappointed.

The pleaſure of the nation, however, was but of ſhort continuance: a miniſtry compoſed of ſuch jarring principles could not long continue united, being conſtituted of perſons eſpouſing different meaſures, and actuated by different motives. The old junto courted the ſovereign's favour by their pretended attachment to his foreign dominions; the new clamoured againſt all continental connexions, as utterly incompatable with the intereſt of the nation. Both, perhaps, might have been wrong; but it is obvious that theſe ſentiments were ſufficient to ſink the latter in the royal eſteem; and this diſlike was artfully kept up, and increaſed by their old rivals in power.

A. D. 1758. A few months, therefore, after Mr. Pitt had been put into office, he was obliged to reſign the ſeals by his majeſty's command; and Mr. Legge was diſmiſſed from being chancellor of the exchequer. The old miniſtry now thought themſelves ſecure in the unmoleſted poſſeſſion of

former

former power; but this very ſtep which they took for their own ſecurity, turned out to them as unfortunate as thoſe they planned for the public were unſucceſsful. The whole nation ſeemed to riſe up as one man in vindication of that part of the miniſtry that was lately excluded; and the king, at length, thought proper to comply with the general ſolicitation. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were again reſtored, and a train of ſucceſſes ſoon began to dignify their deſigns.

For ſome time, however, the meaſures planned by the former miniſtry were purſued in America; and though the Engliſh were ſuperior to the enemy, yet ſtill they felt all the inconvenience of irreſolute councils and ill-planned operations. Our women and children in that part of the world were expoſed to the unparalleled cruelty of the Indian ſavages; and, what is ſtill more remarkable, two thouſand Britons, with arms in their hands, continued tame ſpectators of theſe inhumanities. Bad ſucceſs ever produces complaint on all ſides; and England now heard nothing but invective and accuſation. The generals ſent over to manage the operations of war, loudly accuſed the timidity and the ſlowneſs of the natives, who were to unite in their own defence; the natives, on the contrary, as warmly expoſtulated againſt the pride, avarice, or incapacity, of thoſe ſent over to command them. General Shirley, who was appointed to that command, had been ſuperſeded by lord Loudon; and this nobleman ſoon after returning to England, three ſeveral commanders were put at the head of ſeparate operations: the moſt important, being that deſigned againſt cape Breton, was commanded by general Amherſt. The taking poſſeſſion of this iſland, and its fortreſs, was a conqueſt greatly

wiſhed

wiſhed by all our colonies, as it had always been a convenient harbour to the enemy, which from thence annoyed our trade with impunity. It was alſo a convenient ſituation for carrying on their fiſhery; a branch of commerce of the utmoſt benefit to the French nation. The fortreſs of Louiſburg was ſtrengthened with all the aſſiſtance of art; the garriſon was numerous; the commander vigilant; and every precaution taken to prevent a deſcent. An account of the operations of a ſiege is tedious; be it ſufficient to ſay, that the Engliſh ſurmounted every obſtacle with the moſt amazing intrepidity; their former timidity ſeemed now converted into perſevering reſolution: the place was ſurrendered by capitulation; and our troops, long uſed to diſappointment and repulſe, began to boaſt of victory in their turn.

Two other operations were carried on in America at the ſame time, the one under general Abercrombie, againſt Crown Point and Ticonderago; the other, more to the ſouthward, againſt fort Du Queſne. The latter expedition was ſucceſsful; but that againſt Crown Point and Ticonderago was attended with the cuſtomary bad fortune. This was now the ſecond time that the Engliſh army had attempted to penetrate into thoſe hedious wilds, by which nature had ſecured the French encroachments in that remote part of America. Braddock fell in the attempt: his raſhneſs contributed to his defeat; and too much caution, perhaps, was the fault of his ſucceſſor. Much time was ſpent in marching to the place of action; and the enemy were thus perfectly prepared to give the Engliſh troops a warm reception. They were found intrenched under the fort of Ticonderago, behind a breaſt-work raiſed eight feet high, and ſtill farther ſecured by felling trees, with their branches pointing outwards. Theſe difficul-

ties,

ties, however, the Engliſh attempted to ſurmount; but as the enemy, being ſecure themſelves, took aim at leiſure, a terrible carnage of the aſſailants enſued, and the general, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. The Engliſh army, however, was ſtill ſuperior to that of the enemy, and might, it was ſuppoſed, have gone onward with ſucceſs, if ſupported by their artillery, which had not yet arrived; but the general felt, too ſenſibly, the terrors of the late defeat, to remain in the vicinity of a victorious enemy: he therefore reimbarked his troops, and returned to his camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure.

The ſucceſs of this campaign, however, was, upon the whole, greatly in favour of the Engliſh. The taking of fort Du Queſne ſerved to remove from our colonies the terror of the incurſions of the barbarians, and interrupted that continued correſpondence, which, by a chain of forts, one part of the French ſettlements had with the other. The miniſtry too diſcovered a ſpirit of vigorous reſolution hitherto unknown in this part of the world; and the next campaign promiſed more brilliant ſucceſſes.

Accordingly, in the opening of the next ſeſſion, the miniſtry ſeemed ſenſible, that a ſingle effort carried in ſuch wide-extended dominions, would never bring the enemy into ſubjection; it was therefore reſolved to attack them in ſeveral different parts of this extenſive empire atonce. Preparations were accordingly made, and expeditions went forward againſt three different parts of the northern continent of America. General Amherſt, commander in chief, with a body of twelve thouſand men, was to attack Crown Point, *A. D.* 1759.

that

that had hitherto been the reproach of the Engliſh army; general Wolfe was, at the oppoſite quarter, to enter the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the ſiege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in this part of the world; while general Prideaux and Sir William Johnſon were to attempt a fort near the cataract of Niagara. This laſt expedition was the firſt that was ſucceſsful. The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and ſerved to command all the communication between the northern and weſtern French ſettlements. The ſiege was ſoon commenced by the Engliſh, but general Prideaux was killed in the trenches by the burſting of a cohorn; ſo that the whole ſucceſs of the expedition fell to general Johnſon, and his good fortune. He omitted nothing to promote the vigorous meaſures of his predeceſſor, but added all his own popularity. The French knew the importance of this fort, and attempted to relieve it. Johnſon attacked them with his uſual intrepidity and ſucceſs; in leſs than an hour their whole army was put to the rout, and the garriſon, beholding the defeat of their countrymen, ſurrendered priſoners of war. Nor was general Amherſt leſs ſucceſsful, though without meeting an enemy; in his march to Crown Point, he found both that fort and Ticonderago deſerted and deſtroyed. There now, therefore, remained but one grand and deciſive blow to put all North America in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. This was the taking of Quebec, a city handſomely built, populous, and flouriſhing. Admiral Saunders commanded the naval part of the expedition; that by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe. This young ſoldier, who was not yet thirty-five, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many former occaſions, particularly in the ſiege of Louiſburgh, a part of the

ſucceſs

ſucceſs of which was juſtly aſcribed to him, who, without being indebted to family or connections, had raiſed himſelf by merit to his preſent command. The war in this part of the world had hitherto been carried on with extreme barbarity. Wolfe, however, diſdained theſe baſe proceedings, and carried on all the terrors of war with the humanity of a truly civilized European. A deſcription of the ſiege of this city may inſtruct a ſoldier, but can ſcarcely inform a citizen; be it ſufficient to obſerve, that its beginning appeared extremely unpromiſing to the beſiegers, and repeated repulſes even ſerved to abate the hopes of the commander. *I know*, ſaid he, *that the affairs of Great Britain require the moſt vigorous meaſures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men ſhould be exerted only where there is ſome hope of a favourable event. At preſent the difficulties are ſo various that I am at a loſs how to determine.* However, he reſolved, though now ſinking under fatigue and ſickneſs, to make one vigorous attempt before he gave up all; and accordingly, in the night, part of his troops with great difficulty made themſelves maſters of an hill that commanded the town. A battle enſued: Montcalm, the French commander, reſolved not to ſurvive the defeat of his country; Wolfe, on the other ſide, reſolved to conquer or die. Both commanders had their wiſh; both fell; but the Engliſh were victorious. The circumſtances attending the death of Wolfe, ſerved to give an example like that of the noble Theban. He, in the beginning of the engagement, received a wound in the hand, which he diſſembled, wrapping it round with his handkerchief to ſtop the effuſion of blood; he advanced with unconcern: a ſecond ball was more fatal; it pierced his breaſt, ſo that, unable to proceed, he leaned on the ſhoulder of a ſoldier who was near him. Now,

ſtruggling in the agonies of death, and juſt departing, he heard a voice cry, *They run*; he ſeemed to revive a moment at the ſound, and aſking who ran, was informed the *French:* expreſſing his wonder that they ran ſo ſoon, and unable to gaze any longer, he ſunk on the ſoldier's breaſt, and his laſt words were, *I die happy*. Perhaps the loſs of ſuch a man was greater to the nation than the conquering of all Canada was advantageous; but it is the misfortune of humanity, that we can never know true greatneſs till that moment when we are going to loſe it.

The ſurrender of the city was the conſequence of this victory, and, with it, the total ceſſion of all Canada. The French, it is true, made in the enſuing ſeaſon, a vigorous effort to retake it; but, by the good conduct of our governor, the town held out till relieved by an Engliſh fleet, under the command of lord Colville. Thus did this campaign make ample reparation for all the loſſes that had been hitherto ſuſtained by the Engliſh. The French had now no force capable of making any reſiſtance; they held out the war now, not with hopes of victory, but honourable capitulation. One place after another was invaded: Montreal, at laſt, ſurrendered; and, in a ſhort time, a country, which their own writers have repreſented as being more extenſive than the Roman empire, fell totally under the power of his Britannic majeſty.

How far the extending dominion tends to the increaſing the ſtrength of a nation, is an object worthy conſideration. The ſplendor of victory ſhould never dazzle the eye of reaſon. No people ever could call their country powerful, if it were not populous: for political force depends upon the ſmall frontier to be defended, and the vicinity of an army to every place to be invaded; but extended empire takes away

away both these advantages, and, before the soldier can traverse half his proper territories, his country may have already felt all the horrors of invasion. Whatever joy therefore our country might have felt at these immense acquisitions of remote territory, I own it gives me no very pleasing prospect. The manufactures, the trade, and the riches of these distant countries, can never recompence for the continual drain of useful and industrious subjects, that must be derived from the mother country to people them. Wherever the lower sort of people in any kingdom can fly from labour, they will be ready to go; yet, upon the industry and valour of these alone, every kingdom must hope for security. Not the effeminate and the luxurious can defend their country in the day of battle; they may increase timidity by their example, but opulence can never give true relief. The Spaniards and the Portuguese were much more powerful before they divided their strength into all the torrid climates of Southern America. The state thus got riches, but lost men; they had gold but could not regain industry. Thus are their nations now incapable of defending themselves against powerful foreign invasion. The immense wealth of the Indies that every year comes home to their ports goes to enrich a few; their subjects are either in the extreme of wealth or poverty: the rich have only slaves beneath them, who hate those for whom they must labour; the poor have no acquisitions nor property to defend; so that their armies are composed either of wretches pressed into the service, who only seek for opportunities not to fight, but to fly; or of men, rich and noble, courageous from pride, yet weak from luxury. Such is not, as yet, the case of England, nor will ever be,

if a paſſion for conqueſt is not miſtaken for national proſperity.

LETTER LXIII.

THE ſucceſs of our arms in America was achieved by modern efforts; on the contrary, in Europe the efforts were made, and the operations of our great ally the king of Pruſſia, were aſtoniſhing, yet produced no very ſignal effects. Safety was all that could be expected; and this was ſecured contrary to all human expectation. You have juſt ſeen that monarch ſurrounded by enemies, the greateſt and moſt formidable powers of Europe; you have ſeen almoſt the whole power of the continent united againſt, and hovering over his devoted dominions; and the only allies that remained to him bound by treaty to retire, and give him no aſſiſtance. In this terrible ſituation he ſtill adhered to his fortitude, and, relying on his natural ſubjects alone, reſolved never to abandon his claims. Such was the deſperate condition of his affairs; yet they were ſtill rendered more hopeleſs, when he was informed, that his only friend, the monarch of that generous people which had hitherto ſupplied him with money and ſtores, was going to forſake him, and leave him to irremediable ruin. It was thus he expoſtulated with the doubting monarch upon this occaſion: *Is it poſſible that your majeſty can have ſo little fortitude and conſtancy, as to be diſpirited by a ſmall reverſe of fortune? Are our affairs ſo ruinous that they cannot be repaired? Conſider the ſtep you have made me undertake, and remember you are the cauſe of all my misfortunes. I ſhould never have abandoned my former alliances but for your flattering aſſurances. I do not now repent of the treaty concluded between us; but I intreat*

intreat you will not ingloriouſly leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the power of Europe. The French and Imperialiſts, after a ſucceſsful ſummer campaign, were at this time, which was the depth of winter, ſet down to the ſiege of Leipſic. His Pruſſian majeſty dreaded the capture of this important city, and ſoon, unexpectedly, ſeemed to riſe up before it. Such was the terror of his arms, even vanquiſhed as he had been, that his approach raiſed the ſiege, and the French, though ſuperior in number, retreated. He at length overtook them at a village called Roſbach, and gained ſo complete a victory, that night alone ſaved their whole army from deſtruction. The Auſtrians were, in another part of the empire, ſtill victorious, and had taken the prince of Bevern, his generaliſſimo, priſoner. The king, after a dreadful march of two hundred miles, in the depth of winter, came up with them near Breſlau, diſpoſed his inferior forces with his uſual judgment, and obtained another bloody victory, in which he took no leſs than fifteen thouſand priſoners. Breſlau, with a garriſon of ten thouſand men, ſurrendered ſoon after. Theſe ſucceſſes diſpirited the enemy, and raiſed his allies to new hopes.

After the capitulation of Cloſter-Seven was ſigned, between the duke of Cumberland and the duke of Richelieu, both ſides began to complain of infractions. The Hanoverians accuſed the rapacity of the French general, and the inſolent brutality of his ſoldiers; while the French retorted the charge of inſurrection againſt them, and began to think of treating as a conquered enemy thoſe whom they had only bound by treaty as neutrals. Treaties have never been preſerved longer than intereſt or compulſion bound them; political faith is a word without mean-

ing; the French oppreſſed the Hanoverians; the latter reſumed their arms; and each ſide complained, as uſual, of infraction. A general was not long wanting to aſſemble the collecting army. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick put himſelf at their head, began by ſkirmiſhing with ſucceſs, and, at laſt, they were in a capacity of becoming formidable to their late victors. From this time the king of Pruſſia fought the enemy upon more equal terms than ever; often victorious, ſometimes repulſed; but ever active and formidable. To name his victories, the towns he took, the dangers he eſcaped, and the loſſes he ſuffered, would take up more time than I would chuſe to grant to ſuch accounts, or you ſhould beſtow. Never was the art of war carried to ſuch a pitch as by him. In this war Europe ſaw, with aſtoniſhment, campaigns carried on in the midſt of winter; great and bloody battles fought, yet producing no viſible advantage to the victors. At no time ſince the days of heroiſm were ſuch numbers deſtroyed, ſo many towns taken, ſo many ſkirmiſhes fought, ſuch ſtratagems practiſed, or ſuch intrepidity ſhewn. Armies now were conſidered as compoſing one ſingle machine, directed by the general, and animated with one will. From the commentary of theſe campaigns, ſucceeding generals will take their leſſons for devaſtation, and improve in the arts of increaſing human calamity.

England was, all this time, happily retired from the calamities which drenched the reſt of Europe in blood; yet from her natural military eagerneſs, ſhe ſeemed deſirous of ſharing thoſe dangers of which ſhe was only a ſpectator. This paſſion for carrying on a continental war, was not leſs pleaſing to the monarch from his native attachments, than to the people from their natural propenſity to arms. As

ſoon

ſoon as it was known that prince Ferdinand had put himſelf at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic majeſty, in a ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion of parliament, obſerved that the late ſucceſſes in Germany had given an happy turn to his affairs, which it would be neceſſary to improve. The commons therefore granted liberal ſupplies both for the ſervice of the king of Pruſſia, and for enabling the army formed in the electorate of Hanover to act vigorouſly in conjunction with him. Soon after it was conſidered, that men would be a more grateful ſupply than money. The miniſter, who had firſt come into power and popularity by oppoſing ſuch meaſures, was now prevailed upon to enter into them with even greater ardour than any of his predeceſſors. The hopes of putting a ſpeedy end to the war by vigorous meaſures, his connexions, and, perhaps, the pleaſure he found in giving his majeſty pleaſure, incited him eagerly into a continental war. It is certain no miniſter could more powerfully ſecond a warlike monarch's intentions. That ſpirit of enterprize which had, in a meaſure, taken birth with his adminiſtration, began to overpower all obſtacles. The paſſion for military honour ſeemed diffuſed through all ranks of people; and it only wanted a channel in which to flow. In order to indulge this general inclination, the duke of Marlborough was ſent into Germany with a ſmall body of Britiſh forces to aſſiſt prince Ferdinand, where they behaved with bravery, and conſpired in promoting that prince's ſucceſſes. Each victory they gained, however, only ſerved as a pretext to call over new forces from Britain, while the Engliſh miniſtry were taught to believe that every laſt battle would be deciſive. The battle of Crevelt was fought, in which the Hanoverians and Engliſh had the advantage; but it produced no

effect. The victory of Minden followed; but laurels seemed all that England reaped from the conquered field. After these two victories it was supposed, that one reinforcement more of British troops would terminate the war in our favour; a reinforcement was therefore sent. The British army in Germany now amounted to above thirty thousand men, yet no advantage of any consequence was the result of this formidable assistance. War was the trade of some generals, and it must be allowed a gainful trade it was. Let me therefore here again pass over this continued repetition of marchings, skirmishes, and rencounters, nor load the page with names of German generals, too difficult to be pronounced by an English tongue, and equally grating to a patriot ear. The victories of either side might, in fact, be considered as a compact by which something was to be lost on either side, and no advantage to be acquired. The English, at length, began to open their eyes to their own interest; nor could all the splendors of victory so far blind them, as not to see that they were waging unequal war, and assuming new loads of taxes for conquests they could neither preserve nor enjoy. Such were the growing discontents of the people, when the king, who had inspired these measures, unexpectedly died. On the twenty-fifth day of October, 1760, George II. without any previous disorder, was found by his domestic servants expiring in his chamber. He had arisen at his usual hour, and observed to his attendants, that, as the weather was fine, he would walk out. In a few minutes after this, being left alone, he was heard to fall down upon the floor. The noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him into bed, where he desired, in a faint voice, that the princess Amelia, might be sent for; but before her

arrival,

arrival, he expired, in the 77th year of his age, and the 33d of his reign, in the midſt of victory; and at that very period, when the univerſal enthuſiaſm of conqueſt began to ſubſide into more ſober reflections. If any monarch was happy in the peculiar mode and time of his death, it was he. The factions which had been nurſing in his reign, had not yet come to maturity; and all their virulence threatened to fall upon his ſucceſſor. He was himſelf of no ſhining abilities; and, conſequently, while he was ſuffered to guide his German dominions, he entruſted the care of Britain to his miniſters at home. However, as we ſtand too near this monarch to view his real character without partiality, take the following characters of him, by two writers of oppoſite ſentiments.

" As to the extent of his underſtanding, (ſays " one,) or the ſplendor of his virtue, we rather wiſh " for opportunities of praiſing, than undertake the " taſk ourſelves. His public character was marked " with a predilection for his native country, to " which he ſacrificed all other motives."

On the other hand, ſays his panegyriſt, " On " whatever ſide we look upon his character, we " ſhall find ample matter for juſt and unſuſpected " praiſe. None of his predeceſſors in the throne of " England lived to ſo great an age, or enjoyed " longer felicity. His ſubjects were ſtill improving " under him in commerce and arts; and his own " œconomy ſet a prudent example to the nation, " which, however, they did not follow. He was, " in his temper, ſudden and violent; but this, " though it influenced his behaviour, made no " change in his conduct, which was generally guid- " ed by reaſon. He was plain and direct in his in- " tentions, true to his word, ſteady in his favour

" and protection to his ſervants; not parting even
" with his miniſters till compelled to it by the vio-
" lence of faction. In ſhort, through the whole of
" life, he appeared rather to live for the cultivation
" of uſeful virtues than ſplendid ones; and, ſatis-
" fied with being good, left others their unenvied
" greatneſs."

LETTER LXIV.

I Am ſorry that praiſe beſtowed on living merit is often found to injure the goodneſs it applauds. The character of the ſucceſſor of George the ſecond deſerves the warmeſt panegyric; and all who love their country only wiſh for a continuance of that ſpirit and that virtue which has hitherto appeared in him. Never did monarch come to the throne at a more critical period; the nation fluſhed with conqueſt, yet tired with war, expecting the loweſt ſubmiſſion from their humbled enemies, yet murmuring under the immenſe load of their taxes; one part of the people acquiring immenſe wealth by the continuance of hoſtilities, another reduced almoſt to bankruptcy. Beſides this, the throne was hedged round by ignorance and faction, men intent only on their own intereſts, and willing to perſuade monarchy that whatever conducive to their own wiſhes was directed for the welfare of the kingdom. It was in this ſituation of things that George III. came to the crown. The kingdom began to divide into two parties; or more properly ſpeaking, the very ſame individuals ſeemed to wear, at once, a face of joy and diſcontent. They felt all the triumphs of their ſucceſſes, but juſtly dreaded the conſequences of an expenſive continuance of them. The numberleſs

victories

victories they gained by ſea continued to keep them in ſpirits, and induced them to ſupply the immenſe expences of the year with chearfulneſs. During the whole period of the war ſucceeding the execution of admiral Byng, nothing could be carried on with more ſpirit and reſolution than all our naval engagements. In every enterprize the ſuperior bravery, ſkill, and dexterity of the Engliſh were obvious. Often with forces very much diſproportioned, they took their adverſaries ſhips, and effectually diſabled the enemy's force by ſea.

No hiſtory can furniſh examples of ſuch numerous fleets, or more active commanders. This deſire for victory ſeemed even to diffuſe itſelf to the loweſt officers; and the captains of privateers ſeemed as much enamoured of conqueſt as with a deſire of gain. The admirals Hawke, Howe, Boſcawen, Pocock, &c. were always victorious; the captains, Tyrrel, Foſter, Gilchriſt, Lockhart, and others, often fought at a diſadvantage, but never without honour. As an inſtance of the intrepid ſpirit of our ſeamen in this war, I ſhall mention one action, which poſterity, if it were only ſingly ſupported, might look upon as incredible. The annals of mankind cannot ſhew an effort of more deſperate courage than was exerted under the command of captain William Death, commander of the Terrible privateer. He had, in the beginning of his cruize, made prize of a rich merchant-ſhip, and with this was returning home to England in triumph, when he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance privateer of St. Malo, much his ſuperior in force, he having but twenty-ſix guns, the enemy thirty-ſix, and a proportionable number of men. The Terrible's prize was ſoon retaken, and converted againſt her; but though ſo unequally matched,

captain Death maintained a furious engagement that cannot be paralleled in the annals of any country. The French commander and his ſecond were killed, with two thirds of his crew; but much more dreadful was the ſlaughter on board the Terrible. When the enemy boarded it, they only found one frightful ſcene of ſlaughter, ſilence, and deſolation. Of two hundred men only ſixteen were found remaining alive, and the ſhip itſelf ſo ſhattered as ſcarcely to be kept above water.

Such were the dear-bought naval victories of France, and ſuch was the obſtinacy of the Engliſh, even when defeated, that the court of Verſailles, at length, ſeemed to demand peace at any rate. To this requeſt the Engliſh were ready to accede, and plenipotentiaries were ſent from either court to negotiate ſo wiſhed-for a reconciliation. France ſent to London Mr. Buſſy, a man rather ſkilled in the arts of negotiation than the open integrity becoming the miniſter of a great nation. England ſent over, in exchange, Mr. Stanley, to Paris.

It ſeemed to be a fundamental principle in this treaty, which, however, proved ineffectual, that each country was to be conſidered as poſſeſſors of their reſpective conqueſts; and that if any ſuch were to be given up on one ſide, it was to be only in exchange for ſuch as had been made by the other. Upon theſe terms it is obvious, that the Engliſh were likely to be great gainers by a treaty, as they had taken ſeveral places and dominions from the French, and had loſt only Minorca. Whether the French had a real deſire to proceed upon ſuch terms is uncertain; however, they ſoon gave the Engliſh miniſtry ſufficient reaſons to be diſſatisfied with their proceedings. Mr. Pitt, who had for a long time been ſucceſsful, actuated all the Engliſh meaſures and guided their

councils,

councils, had ever disdained that pedantry of political refinement of which others so vainly boasted: he negotiated therefore in a plain simple manner; his guide, sincerity; and his only object, his country's good. Several points were agreed upon between each nation, that gave great hopes of an accommodation. The French agreed to give up all Canada, a fort upon the river Senegal in Africa, and to restore Minorca. The chief objects in debate were, the privilege they claimed of continuing to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland, and of having the damages repaired which they sustained by the taking their shipping before a declaration of war. These two points were warmly negotiated on either side, not without hopes of speedy adjustment, when, unexpectedly, the whole treaty was, at once, set aside by the interposition of the Spanish minister, who desired to have the interest of Spain also included in the treaty. Mr. Pitt very justly considered, that as Spain had no part in the war, so it was impertinent in that power to intermeddle in a treaty of peace; and he regarded this interposition in its true light, namely, that of a confederacy between France and Spain mutually to support each other's interest. Confident, therefore, of his own integrity, and, perhaps, also too much elated by popular applause, he began to treat the French negotiator with a great share of haughtiness, of which he complained to his court at home; and he was soon recalled.

This conduct of Mr. Pitt might have justly incurred reproach, had he had no private intimations of a secret alliance between France and Spain. The last-named power had actually entered into a family compact with France, by which they engaged to carry on a war in conjunction. Of all this the English secretary had been previously apprized, and proposed

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in the privy-council to anticipate the designs of Spain, by an immediate declaration of war against her. Vigour, dispatch, and resolution, characterized all the plans of this minister: he found, however, in the privy-council, men who were willing to act with more deliberation, and who desired a certainty of offence before they demanded a reparation. Spain, they said, has yet given no certain proofs of their hostile intentions; and the English minister at the court of Madrid still continues to assure us of their pacific disposition. These remonstrances were answered by the secretary, but without producing the desired conviction: seeing himself therefore almost singular in his opinion, he was resolved to leave an assembly where he knew himself maligned; and threw up the direction of measures, which, to use his own expression, he was no longer allowed to guide. The council was, at that time, divided between two parties, who were both equally pleased at his resignation. One party consisted of those who were at the head of affairs during the preceding reign; the other, such as had been taken into favour in this: neither were displeased at the removal of a man whose popularity threw them into the shade, and whose vehemence controlled their moderation. But this popular minister's being removed, did not restore unanimity to the council. The parts which were held together by his presence, were now disunited, and a dissension began, which still continues to subsist.

The declaration of war with Spain, soon after, shewed how well-grounded Mr. Pitt's measures were, when he proposed a former rupture. However, the union of France and Spain, and the disunion of our own ministry at home, did not seem to retard the progress of our arms. The island of Martinico was conquered by admiral Rodney and general Monck-

ton; the iſland of St. Lucia ſurrendered ſoon after to captain Harvey; Grenada was taken by brigadier Walſh; and all the neutral iſlands ſubmitted to the Engliſh dominion. But a bolder blow was ſtruck againſt the Spaniards; a powerful fleet, and an army of fifteen thouſand men, was ſent againſt the Havannah, the key of all their poſſeſſions in South America. It made a noble reſiſtance; but in the end was taken. And now the enemies of Great Britain were humbled on every ſide; the French left without trade or ſhipping; the ſource of Spaniſh opulence interrupted; nothing remained for them, but to aſk for peace, upon ſuch terms as we were pleaſed to grant. A negotiation was accordingly once more begun between the three powers, by the intervention of the king of Sardinia's ambaſſador: the duke of Bedford was ſent over to Paris, and the duke de Nevernois came to London; and, at length, the definitive treaty was ſigned at Paris by the duke of Bedford, the duke de Praſlin, and the marquis de Grimaldi, and arrived in London, February 19, 1763. In order to purchaſe peace, the French gave up all Canada, their right to the neutral iſlands, the fort of Senegal, and their privilege of fiſhing on the coaſts of Newfoundland, and the gulph of St. Lawrence, but at a certain diſtance from ſhore. Spain alſo gave up, on her part, the extenſive country of Florida: ſo that the Engliſh empire was thus greatly enlarged; and if we compute its ſtrength by the quantity of land included in its dominions, it can now boaſt of more power than even the great Roman empire.

But no country ſhould build upon remote ſtrength; true power muſt always ſubſiſt at home. When the branches of a large empire become more powerful than the original ſtem, inſtead of aſſiſting its growth, they

they only overload and exhauſt its nouriſhment. The diſcontents, therefore, which many have expreſſed, at the concluſion of the late peace, that we did not inſiſt upon harder terms, and increaſe our poſſeſſions, were ill-founded, ſince it is probable we are already poſſeſſed of more than government can manage. There is ever a certain extent of empire which politics are able to weild: beyond this her magnificence is but empty pomp, and her ſize but ſickly corpulence.

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